



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

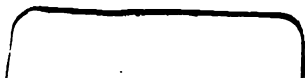
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



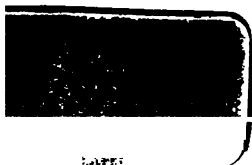
45. 969.







45. 969.







**THE COURT OF CHARLES I.**

*From an engraving of that period, representing the King, Queen, Queen-mother, and the Royal Children.*

ENGLAND  
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY;

OR,

A HISTORY OF  
THE REIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF  
STUART.



ROUND TOWER, WINDSOR.

LONDON:  
THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY;

*Instituted 1799.*

SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORY, 56, PATERNOSTER ROW, AND 65, ST.  
PAUL'S CHURCHYARD; AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

---

1845.



# CONTENTS.

## JAMES I.—PART I.

FROM A.D. 1603, TO A.D. 1611.

	Page
Introductory remarks . . . . .	1
Death of Queen Elizabeth . . . . .	3
James I. proclaimed king . . . . .	4
His character . . . . .	5
His progress from Scotland . . . . .	7
First popular measures . . . . .	8
State of parties—personal appearance of James I. . . . .	9
“The bye” and “the main” conspiracies . . . . .	11
Imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Grey, etc. . . . .	13
Conference at Hampton Court—conduct of the king . . . . .	14
Course pursued in the new translation of the Bible . . . . .	16
Meeting of parliament . . . . .	17
Dispute with the king . . . . .	18
Conduct of those high in authority . . . . .	20
Disappointment of Puritans and Papists . . . . .	21
Gunpowder plot . . . . .	22
Profusion and debts of James I. . . . .	31
His favourites—love of pleasure and excesses . . . . .	33
Parliament reassembled—conciliatory measures . . . . .	35
Death of Cecil . . . . .	38
Death of Bancroft—Imprisonment of Lady Arabella Stuart, etc. . . . .	39

## JAMES I.—PART II.

FROM A.D. 1612, TO A.D. 1625.

James I. directs the remains of his mother to be removed to Westminster Abbey—Marriage of his eldest daughter—Death of Prince Henry . . . . .	40
History of the royal favourites resumed—Carr, etc. . . . .	43
Overbury imprisoned and poisoned—Assembling of parliament . . . . .	45
George Villiers . . . . .	46
Imprisonment of Somerset and the murderers of Overbury, etc. . . . .	47
Inexcusable conduct of James I. . . . .	48
The Book of Sports . . . . .	50
Conduct of James I. to Sir Walter Raleigh—Spanish ambassador . . . . .	53
Fall of Carr—Raleigh liberated—Expedition to Guiana . . . . .	54
Threat of hostilities from the King of Spain . . . . .	55
Raleigh beheaded—Death of the Queen . . . . .	56
Pecuniary difficulties—Elector Palatine . . . . .	57
Parliament reassembled—proceedings—dissolution . . . . .	60
Third parliament—Impeachment of Lord Bacon, etc. . . . .	63
Vanity of James I.—Negotiations for a Spanish Alliance by the marriage of prince Charles with the Infanta—its failure, etc. . . . .	68

	Page
Parliamentary proceedings . . . . .	72
Treaty for the marriage of the king's son with a French princess . . . . .	73
Death of James I. . . . .	74

## CHARLES I.—PART I.

FROM A.D. 1625, TO A.D. 1640.

Character of Charles I. . . . .	76
His marriage—Parliamentary proceedings . . . . .	77
Plague—Parliament adjourned to Oxford, and dissolved . . . . .	78
Hostilities against Spain—The queen's attendants . . . . .	80
The coronation—Second parliament . . . . .	81
Buckingham impeached—Second parliament dissolved . . . . .	82
Decisive measures of Charles I. and his court . . . . .	83
Petition of Right . . . . .	85
Buckingham's unpopularity—his death . . . . .	87
The leading clergy differ from their predecessors . . . . .	89
Weakness and duplicity of Charles I.—Third parliament dissolved . . . . .	91
Elliot's imprisonment and death . . . . .	93
Leighton—Charles I. governs without a parliament . . . . .	94
Gustavus Adolphus—His successes and death . . . . .	96
Charles I. crowned in Scotland . . . . .	97
Determined to proceed in the course on which he had entered . . . . .	98
Proceedings of Laud and the clergy . . . . .	100
Ship-money . . . . .	107
Hampden—Arbitrary measures in Ireland . . . . .	108
Proceedings in Scotland . . . . .	110
Proceedings of parliament . . . . .	115
Dispute between the two Houses . . . . .	116
Convocation of the clergy . . . . .	117
Hostilities with Scotland . . . . .	118
Peculiar temperament of the king . . . . .	119
Settlements in America . . . . .	120

## CHARLES I.—PART II.

FROM A.D. 1640, TO A.D. 1645.

Assembling of parliament . . . . .	123
Its proceedings—Impeachment of Strafford . . . . .	124
Impeachment of Laud and Finch—Conduct of Charles I. . . . .	126
Queen's visit to France—Trial of Strafford . . . . .	128
Charles I. intercedes for Strafford—Bill of attainder . . . . .	129
Strafford beheaded . . . . .	131
Tumults at Whitehall—Remarks . . . . .	132
Proceedings of parliament . . . . .	135
The king in Scotland—Conspiracy in Ireland . . . . .	136
Interference of Charles I. with the parliament . . . . .	138
Attempt to conciliate the popular feeling . . . . .	139
Evidences of civil war—Charles I. at York . . . . .	141
Opposition of the king and commons . . . . .	142
Open declaration of hostilities . . . . .	143
Civil war—the parliament decline negotiations . . . . .	146
Battle at Edgehill—proceedings of both parties . . . . .	148—155
The Queen at Exeter, etc.—Battle at Newbury . . . . .	156
Attempts of the king to engage the Scottish nation in his cause . . . . .	158
—Ireland . . . . .	158

# CONTENTS.

vii

	Page
Proceedings of the assembly of divines . . . . .	159
Attempts to negotiate—Death of Pym . . . . .	160
Error of the king and his advisers—Proceedings in the north . . . . .	161
Battle of Marston Moor . . . . .	162
The Queen's flight from Exeter . . . . .	163
The armies in winter quarters . . . . .	164
Cromwell—his character . . . . .	165
Negotiations for peace—Execution of Laud . . . . .	168
University of Cambridge . . . . .	170

## CHARLES I.—PART III.

FROM A.D. 1645, TO A.D. 1649.

The parliamentary troops—Necessities of the royalists . . . . .	171
Earl of Montrose—Battle of Naseby . . . . .	172
Defeat of Montrose . . . . .	175
Rapid decline of the royalists . . . . .	177
Montreuil's negotiation—Herbert's mission . . . . .	178
His imprisonment . . . . .	179
Lord Astley—The parliament's distrust of the king . . . . .	181
Proposals of the Scots—The King's insincerity . . . . .	182
The war at an end . . . . .	184
The king's negotiations—Determination to dethrone him . . . . .	185
Controversy between the leaders of England and Scotland . . . . .	186
The king given up to the parliament—Ecclesiastical affairs . . . . .	187
The king at Holmby—his proposals . . . . .	188
Cromwell's proceedings . . . . .	190
The king at Carisbrook Castle . . . . .	194
Negotiations with parliament—Scottish commissioners . . . . .	196
Failure of attempt to escape to France—Duke of York . . . . .	197
Unsettled state of the nation—Scottish nation, etc. . . . .	199
Cromwell—Unwise conduct of Presbyterian party . . . . .	202
The king's determination to escape . . . . .	205
Taken to Hurst Castle . . . . .	206
The parliament silenced . . . . .	207
The trial of the king resolved on . . . . .	208
His removal from Hurst Castle . . . . .	210
His trial . . . . .	211
The death-warrant, etc. . . . .	213
The king beheaded . . . . .	214
His burial—Remarks . . . . .	216

## THE COMMONWEALTH.

FROM A.D. 1649, TO A.D. 1653.

Remarks on the death of Charles I. . . . .	218
Proceedings of the regicides . . . . .	219
Lilburne's opposition to Cromwell . . . . .	220
Charles II. proclaimed in Ireland and Scotland . . . . .	221
His embarkation for Scotland . . . . .	222
Defeat of the Scottish army at Dunbar . . . . .	223
Illness of Cromwell—The king's arrival at Worcester—his flight, and escape . . . . .	224
Charles at Paris . . . . .	226



	Page
Submission of Ireland and Scotland—Cromwell raised to the height of power . . . . .	227
Disperses the parliament . . . . .	230

## THE PROTECTORATE.

FROM A.D. 1653, TO A.D. 1660.

The late proceedings vindicated—Administration of affairs . . . . .	231
War with Holland—Lilburne tried and acquitted . . . . .	232
Cromwell appointed Lord Protector . . . . .	233
His authority confirmed . . . . .	235
His determination to vindicate the national honour.—Scotland and Ireland . . . . .	236
New parliament—proceedings . . . . .	237
Cromwell's proceedings . . . . .	240
The king and his councillors—The Vaudois of Piedmont . . . . .	241
Anecdote of Admiral Blake . . . . .	242
Severe measures—Charles II. at Cologne . . . . .	243
Sexby—Proceedings of Charles II. at Paris . . . . .	244
Peace with France—Third parliament assembled . . . . .	245
Proceedings against Naylor—Title of king offered to Cromwell . . . . .	246
Parliamentary proceedings—spies . . . . .	248
Plots—New house of peers—Commons protest . . . . .	249
Parliament dissolved—Lambert—Religious proceedings, etc. . . . .	250
Plot discovered—Trial of conspirators—Unpopularity of Cromwell, etc. . . . .	251
Mrs. Claypole . . . . .	252
Death of Cromwell—Remarks . . . . .	253
Richard Cromwell . . . . .	255
Proclaimed Protector—Funeral of Oliver Cromwell . . . . .	256
Parliament summoned—proceedings . . . . .	257
State of parties—Dissolution of parliament . . . . .	258
Richard Cromwell set aside—Fleetwood . . . . .	259
The king's intention of coming to England—State of parties . . . . .	260
Monk enters England—Fairfax takes possession of York . . . . .	262
Monk's conduct . . . . .	263
Appointed general—Prynne and Grimstone . . . . .	264
Parliament dissolved—Charles II. and his councillors . . . . .	265
Elections in England—Lambert's escape—Parliament—Charles II. secretly a papist . . . . .	266
The king restored . . . . .	267
Arrival at Dover—procession to Whitehall . . . . .	269

## CHARLES II.—PART I.

FROM A.D. 1660, TO A.D. 1671.

Importance of the Restoration—Character of Charles II. . . . .	270
The parliament declared legal—Indemnity Act . . . . .	271
Trial and execution of the regicides—Disgusting and useless proceedings . . . . .	273
Parliament dissolved—a new one called—difficulties . . . . .	274
Scotland and Ireland—The royal authority restored . . . . .	275
Ecclesiastical proceedings . . . . .	277
The coronation—Proceedings of the king and parliament . . . . .	278
The Act of uniformity . . . . .	279
More regicides executed—Death of duke of Gloucester . . . . .	281
Marriage of Charles II.—his base conduct . . . . .	282

# CONTENTS.

ix

	Page
Unpopularity of Clarendon . . . . .	283
York—Conventicle Act—War with Holland . . . . .	285
Plague in London . . . . .	286
King and court remove to Salisbury—Five Mile Act . . . . .	288
The plague, its symptoms, etc. . . . .	289
War with the Dutch—French declare war against England . . . . .	291
Fire of London . . . . .	293
Rebuilding of London . . . . .	295
Oppressive and injurious measures . . . . .	297
Unsettled state of Scotland—severe proceedings . . . . .	298
Financial embarrassment . . . . .	299
Disgrace of lord Clarendon . . . . .	300
His exile—Buckingham . . . . .	301
Dissembling of Charles—Death of the queen-mother . . . . .	303
Treaty with Louis—"Cabal" administration . . . . .	304
Proficiency of the Court—important events . . . . .	305
Proceedings of the lords—Blood, his plot . . . . .	306

## CHARLES II.—PART II.

FROM A.D. 1672, TO A.D. 1684.

Disgraceful fraud committed by Charles II. . . . .	307
Proceedings of the king and his ministers . . . . .	308
The Test Act . . . . .	309
Jealousy of the king's proceedings . . . . .	310
Marriage of princess Mary—Peace between France and Holland . . . . .	312
Popish plot . . . . .	313
New parliament—attempt to exclude the duke of York . . . . .	317
Habeas Corpus Act—Duke of York recalled . . . . .	318
Retrospect of affairs of Scotland . . . . .	319
Bill of exclusion . . . . .	321
The Rye House plot . . . . .	324
Lord Russell beheaded . . . . .	326
Sidney executed . . . . .	328
Duke of Monmouth—decree in convocation, etc. . . . .	329
Several peers imprisoned—Judge Jeffreys . . . . .	330
The covenanters—Baillie condemned . . . . .	331
Gordon—Claverhouse—Whig party put down . . . . .	333
Death of Charles II. . . . .	334
Remarks . . . . .	335

## JAMES II.

FROM A.D. 1685, TO A.D. 1688.

Address of James II.—Burial of Charles II. . . . .	337
Arbitrary proceedings—Persecution of Baxter . . . . .	339
Execution of Argyle, Rumbold, and Ayliffe—Landing of Monmouth . . . . .	340
His invasion defeated—flight—atrocities that followed . . . . .	341
Measures in favour of Popery . . . . .	345
Blind determination of James II. . . . .	346
Plans for resistance . . . . .	347
Monastic establishments, etc. . . . .	348
Rash proceedings of the king . . . . .	349
The bishops and clergy . . . . .	350

	Page
Trial of seven bishops—Birth of a prince—its importance	351
Hurley House—Preparations of the prince of Orange	352
James II. alive to his danger	354
Landing of the prince of Orange, etc.	355
Flight of the queen of James II.	356
Proceedings of the king—Prince of Orange invited to London	358
Abdication of James II.—Remarks	359

### WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

FROM A.D. 1689, TO A.D. 1694.

Introductory remarks	361
Arrival of the princess—Proclamation of William III. and Mary II.	362
Character of William III.—Coronation—Toleration Act	363
Affability of the queen—Affairs in Scotland	364
Ireland—Proceedings of James II.—Siege of Derry, etc.	367
Bill of Rights—War with France	369
William II. proceeds to Ireland—Battle of the Boyne	370
Return to England—Fire at Whitehall Palace—Sanicroft	372
Massacre of Glencoe	373
Renewed attempts against William and his government	375
National debt—Discontent, etc.	377
Bank of England—Useless attacks on the French coast	378
Death of queen Mary	379

### WILLIAM III.

FROM A.D. 1689, TO A.D. 1702.

Princess Anne—Triennial Act—City of Namur	380
New coinage, etc.	381
Detection of an assassination plot, etc.	382
Peace of Ryswick—Fire at Whitehall	383
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts established	384
The standing army—Opposition of the king	385
New parliament	386
Act for the succession, etc.	387
Death of James II.—Whig administration	389
Death of William III.—Remarks	390

### ANNE.—PART I.

FROM A.D. 1702, TO A.D. 1707

Importance of her accession—her character—her intentions	390
Her coronation—Leading events of her reign	394
War with France—New parliament—its proceedings	395
Great hurricane	397
Archduke Charles—Conspiracy in Scotland, etc.	398
Battle of Blenheim	399
Proceedings in parliament—party contests	400—403
Ecclesiastical affairs—Battle of Ramillies—Proposals of Louis	404
Union between England and Scotland	405

# CONTENTS.

xi

## ANNE.—PART II.

FROM A.D. 1707, TO A.D. 1714.

	Page
The queen urges active warfare, etc.	409
Discontent in Scotland—Great changes	410
Habeas Corpus Act suspended—Byng	411
Ireland—O'Connor	412
The Netherlands—Death of the prince of Denmark—Intrigues at court	413
Parliamentary proceedings—Distressed state of France	414
Political storm—Dr. Sacheverell	415
Duchess of Marlborough—Harley	418
Treaty for peace	420
Horrors of the war	421
Queen's speech	422
English withdraw from the alliance	423
Non-jurors—Treaty of Utrecht	425
Treaty with France—Violence of party feeling	426
Bolingbroke—Intrigues of the Pretender, etc.	427
Proceedings of parliament and the queen	428
Schism Act	429
Death of the queen	430
Remarks	431

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

Buildings and furniture	435
The fine arts	436
Food	438
Books and printing	441
Amusements	442
Travelling and inns	442
Dress	446
State and condition of the people	448
Trade and agriculture	450
Laws and constitution	454
Education, and the English language	455



# LIST OF ENGRAVINGS.

	Page
Court of Charles I. . . . .	Frontispiece
The Round Tower, Windsor Castle . . . . .	Title
King James Hawking—from an old engraving . . . . .	10
Great Hall of a Nobleman's House in the time of James I. . . . .	32
Bramshill, Hants—the intended residence of Henry, Prince of Wales . . . . .	42
Preaching at Paul's Cross . . . . .	58
The Cross in Cheapside . . . . .	67
The Custom House in the time of Charles I. . . . .	79
The Star Chamber . . . . .	95
Cornhill, the corner of Gracechurch Street . . . . .	103
Cheapside in A.D. 1637, with the Cross and the Conduit . . . . .	122
General View of Whitehall . . . . .	133
Nottingham Castle . . . . .	144
Lincoln . . . . .	155
Treaty House, Uxbridge . . . . .	169
Broad Street, Bristol . . . . .	176
City of Oxford—from an old drawing . . . . .	183
Carisbrook Castle . . . . .	195
Colchester Castle . . . . .	200
The Banqueting House, Whitehall . . . . .	215
Cromwell dispersing the Members of the House of Commons . . . . .	229
The House of Commons in the time of the Protectorate . . . . .	238
Cornhill, A.D. 1656, where the Royal Exchange was afterwards built . . . . .	247
Entrance of Charles II. into London . . . . .	268
Clarendon House—time of Charles II. . . . .	284
The Pest House, Tothill Fields, Westminster . . . . .	287
The Fire, from the Bridge . . . . .	292
The Fire of London—Ludgate and old St. Paul's in the distance . . . . .	296
The old Horse Guards, Whitehall, and the Mall in St. James's Park . . . . .	311
Old Somerset House . . . . .	316
The Rye House . . . . .	325
Lord Russell's last interview with his Family . . . . .	327
The Bass Rock . . . . .	333
Capture of Monmouth . . . . .	342
Vault at Hurley House . . . . .	353
Flight of the queen of James II. . . . .	357
Column on the Boyne . . . . .	371
Shipping of the time of William and Mary . . . . .	386
Blenheim . . . . .	401
Edinburgh Castle, from Grey Friars Churchyard . . . . .	406
Hampton Court . . . . .	416
Buildings of seventeenth century—staircase . . . . .	434
An interior in the seventeenth century . . . . .	439
A family and amusements . . . . .	443
Travelling in 1637, from a print of that period, representing the entrance of the queen-mother into Colchester . . . . .	445
Courtier and parliamentarian in the middle of the seventeenth century . . . . .	447
A toilette and furniture . . . . .	449

ENGLAND  
IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY;  
OR, A HISTORY OF THE  
REIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.

---

JAMES I.

REIGNED TWENTY-TWO YEARS AND A FEW DAYS.

*From 24th of March, 1603, to 27th of March, 1625.*

THE history of England during the seventeenth century presents a series of instructive and painful lessons, both to the people and to the rulers of succeeding generations. The leading features are the struggles of the middle and lower orders for increased privileges, and a larger share in the public measures; with the efforts of the monarchs and their personal supporters fully to maintain, if not to increase, the power exercised by Elizabeth and the other rulers of the Tudor race, when establishing the regal authority over that of the feudal nobility. Elizabeth had the good sense to discern when there was danger from going too far, and repeatedly showed that she could give way in time for her concessions to be deemed favours—she did not always persevere when her authority was resisted. But with all her personal abilities and popularity, that queen had scarcely been able to support the kingly power in the extent to which it had been established by her father. It is therefore not surprising that the Stuarts, a race at first regarded by Englishmen as foreigners, and even as enemies,

individuals of far inferior talent, and generally of less popular manners, while unhappily notorious for their vices, should, after severe struggles, be set aside for a time, and in the end excluded from the throne.

The reader who examines the events of that period dispassionately, and in a Christian spirit, will see and admire how God in his providence, has been pleased to bring good out of much evil. And as in the Reformation, we see an event calling for deep thankfulness, while we cannot approve of the whole conduct even of those venerable and excellent men by whose instrumentality it was effected; so in the Revolution we also see a transaction conferring many blessings on the land, and should feel thankful to God for the event, though we may disapprove of some of the proceedings which brought it to pass.

In the brief narrative now presented to the reader, to give a faithful account has been the main object kept in view, without attempting to excuse or exaggerate what was blamable on either part. Actions and opinions have been examined by the standard of Scripture, considering that these things are now, as of old, examples profitable for consideration; and here the manner in which every monarch of the Stuart race promoted popish principles, if not Popery itself, demands especial notice. Even James the first, though openly opposing Popery, cannot be excepted from this remark. He did much to prepare the way for the fatal extent to which his successor went; and that Charles II. and James II. were thoroughly Papists, is now fully ascertained, while it is clear that their efforts to restore that system of false religion led to the subversion of their regal power, and the exclusion of their descendants. To use the words of holy writ, they "gave their power and strength" to mystical Babylon, and they received their reward. The reigns of the two queens, Mary II. and Anne, also confirm this instruction. Their governments were actuated by other principles, and

were happier periods both to rulers and people, until the later days of queen Anne exhibit her inclining towards the ways of her fathers, and a return threatened of the evils which harassed England during the greater part of the preceding century. The words of heavenly Wisdom are not to be mistaken, "By me kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth.—But he that sinneth against me wrongeth his own soul: all they that hate me love death," Prov. viii.

## PART I.

FROM A.D. 1603, to A.D. 1611.

Queen Elizabeth died about three in the morning of March 24, 1603. The council had taken precautions against popular tumults, by securing, a few days before, some noted turbulent characters, and a considerable number of the more desperate vagrants then in London; for difficulties were expected, in regard to the succession to the throne. By hereditary right, the crown of England came to James vi., king of Scotland, as the descendant of Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry vii. The late queen and her ministers were in favour of the succession of king James, and the greater part of the English nation were inclined the same way; for all wise persons saw the advantage of the whole island of Great Britain being under one monarch. And although, at the moment, a Scottish king might be distasteful to the English nation, yet, as Henry vii. wisely said, when the marriage of Margaret was objected to, as possibly leading to this result, it was evident to reflecting minds, that the general tone of the government would be influenced by England, that being the largest portion of the united nation. There were others who claimed a right to the succession, but all on inferior and untenable grounds; so that it is unnecessary here to



notice their claims particularly. It is however remarked by sir Harris Nicholas, that for nearly twelve months after the accession of James I., the statutes then the law of the land, vested the legal right to the throne in lord Seymour, eldest son of the earl of Hereford, by lady Katherine Grey, sister of lady Jane Grey, as heir of the duchess of Suffolk, the younger sister of Henry VIII. The title of James was not acknowledged and confirmed by parliament till March, 1604.

The council assembled without delay, and directed James to be proclaimed king with the usual formalities. Sir Robert Cecil, who had devoted himself to the interests of the Scottish king, himself read the proclamation at Whitehall and Cheapside; and messengers were immediately despatched with official intelligence to James at Edinburgh. The news was anticipated by some private persons, the first account being brought by sir Robert Cary, who was waiting at the English court for this purpose. On hearing the report of the death of the queen, he gained admittance to the palace at Richmond early in the morning of the 24th, and with great difficulty got out again, as by order of the council none were allowed to enter, or to depart if they had entered. His sister, lady Scroop, one of the queen's ladies, saw him among the crowd after he had got out, and threw to him from a window a sapphire ring which had been placed in her hands by king James, to be sent as a token in case of the queen's death. On receiving this, sir Robert was certain that the important event had taken place, and immediately prepared to take horse, though the council desired to detain him. He left London between nine and ten on the Thursday. Having provided relays of horses, his progress was rapid. He only rested a few hours on the road; and though delayed by a severe fall when near the end of his journey, he reached Edinburgh on the Saturday night, after the king had gone to bed. Being

admitted to the royal chamber, he saluted James as king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. On the following day the official news arrived, and many English courtiers soon came to Edinburgh.

James VI. of Scotland thus became James I. of Great Britain. He was at that time thirty-six years old. The royal family consisted of his queen, Anne, the sister to the king of Denmark ; two sons, Henry, ten years old, and Charles, born in 1600 ; and a daughter, Elizabeth, in her eighth year. His immediate presence in England being required, James began his journey to the south on April 5th, leaving his queen and the children to follow.

Without here entering at length into the character of James, it may be observed, that he was unhappy in his parents ; he never enjoyed the advantages of parental care and affection. His father was murdered when he was eight months old ; his mother, whose name cannot be wholly separated from that atrocious deed, and the parties who committed it, in a few months afterwards, by her dissolute and wayward conduct, brought on herself a lasting separation from her child and her throne. Nor was this all : her subsequent conduct rendered her detention in England, and at length her execution, a desirable measure of state policy, however unjustifiable on legal or moral grounds. The mental powers of James were cultivated, and he was trained in the best learning of that day, but so as to render him pedantic, vain, and dogmatical. He had no strength of character to withstand the temptations of his station, or to cause him to act steadily on right principles. Happily for his subjects, his natural timidity and humane disposition made him a lover of peace ; but this temper also inclined him to become subject to favourites, and his weakness laid him open to flatterers. As a private character he might have been an estimable man ; and among his many defects as a monarch, his love of peace counterbalanced numerous

errors, though it deprived his proceedings of that imposing glare, which has rendered much worse rulers favourites with the mass of historians.

The principal feature in the character of James worthy of notice, as leading to the troubles which agitated England during the seventeenth century, is the high and mistaken notions respecting the royal prerogative, which he ever manifested. He considered that the Norman conquest had swept away all former privileges or liberties of the people, leaving the royal will as the only legitimate authority. This power he sought to uphold and extend, while his natural mildness and timidity, and a dislike to contests, prevented his breaking out into actions of an arbitrary description to the extent he wished to do. His physical defects also made him less inclined to follow an open course, and thus control his people; he attached a vast and mysterious importance to what he called "kingcraft," in other words, dissimulation and selfishness. These ever influenced the conduct of James. The whole force and mental vigour of the Tudor princes had been exerted, to prevent the resumption of that aristocratical sway which predominated in England during the middle ages. Their efforts had been successful, and the kingly power, as well as the liberties of the people, had been increased. But, while the monarchs of the Stuart dynasty desired to carry the royal prerogative even farther than Elizabeth, there was not, in any of them, the same power or ability; the popular strength also, increased by the peace and prosperity of the nation, rapidly gained ascendancy, and prevailed when brought into collision with the regal authority. But the success of the popular power soon brought on its own destruction, and then the regal authority was reinstated, which again was carried too far before the close of the century. By the good providence of God a more moderate course then prevailed, leading to that adjustment of power, which carried

Britain onward to the commanding position it attained early in the nineteenth century.

The progress of James towards London was singularly peaceful, after the agitations which had prevailed, and threatened his accession. It shows how the hearts of man are at the disposal of the Most High. It was destitute of military pomp, and much of the tedious way was beguiled by hunting—the new king being passionately addicted to that sport; literally, he often was thus occupied from the morning station to the evening place of repose. His new subjects flocked to see James as he passed; but, unlike Elizabeth, he shrunk from the public gaze; the people were warned against crowding to the royal road, under pretence that a scarcity of provisions would be caused thereby: this weakened his popularity. He erred, also, by distributing honours profusely. In six weeks he gave to two hundred and thirty-six persons the rank of knighthood, which was then esteemed an honourable distinction. Nor was he more careful respecting higher dignities; he made twenty-six peers in his first year, being more than queen Elizabeth had created during the whole forty-four years of her reign. This was reflected upon in a bill fixed shortly afterwards on St. Paul's, offering to teach the art of remembering the titles thus newly conferred. At Worksop, Burleigh, and Hinchinbrook, James and his train were treated with especial attention, regardless of expense. The king expressed much wonder at the wealth and possessions of his new subjects.

One circumstance which occurred during his progress attracted much notice, by indicating a disposition in James to exercise his authority independent of the laws. While the court was at Newark, a pick-pocket being detected, who had followed the king from Berwick, in the dress of a gentleman, the offender was executed immediately, by the king's order, without any trial or legal proceedings. By a statute

of Henry VIII. the king possessed this power in cases of theft committed within the verge of the court, but with many other arbitrary enactments of that reign, the law had been suffered to fall into disuse ; so that it is probable that James acted from his lofty ideas of the royal prerogative, rather than from any knowledge of this special power. His advisers found it necessary to caution him against such acts in future. Another unpopular action was refusing to wear mourning, or to allow any to be worn, for the late queen. The national regret for Elizabeth was speedily shown in various ways. In almost every church in London a monument to her memory was erected ; and among the numerous copies of verses and flattering eulogies addressed to James, the greater part expressed regret for the national loss in the death of his predecessor.

The new king arrived at Theobald's, in Hertfordshire, the seat of secretary Cecil, on May the 3d : there he named his council ; six were English and six were Scots. The former were, the earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, lord Henry Howard, and lord Thomas Howard, lord Burrough, and lord Zouch ; the latter were, the duke of Lennox, the earl of Mar, lord Hume, sir George Hume, lord Bruce, and sir James Elphinstone. The court remained some days at Theobald's, the attendants causing much damage. This is recorded by the lady Anne Clifford, who, going thither with her mother, the countess of Cumberland, found that the outward decorums and order of queen Elizabeth's court were no longer enforced. One circumstance she mentions as showing this change, was, that after her mother and herself had remained some time in a room occupied by one of the Scottish attendants, they found they had brought away vermin in their clothes !

The first popular measures of the new reign were the suspending all monopolies till they had been examined by the council, forbidding the worst evils

of purveyance, and the grant of protection by the crown to delay legal proceedings. The English nation had no cause to complain of unfairness, though the personal favour shown to many of the Scots, and the great resort of their countrymen to England caused much jealousy: many jests and reflections were made by the English nation against them.

Sir Robert Cecil was the prime minister. A treaty for mutual aid was entered into with Henry iv. of France, while a peace was negotiated with Philip iii. of Spain, by which advantages were gained to the British merchants. A plague in London, of which thirty thousand persons died, caused James to withdraw to Wilton. The coronation was delayed till July 25, when the king and queen were crowned at Westminster.

The state of parties at the opening of the reign of James i. has been described by a French agent. He says, that the king was influenced by a small number of personal favourites, mostly Scottish gentlemen of inferior rank, who brought him accounts of whatever passed, and obsequiously studied his will. The courtiers, were divided into two parties, one directed by the earl of Mar, and the other by the queen; but a third portion was influenced by Cecil.

The personal appearance of James is described by Weldon, a contemporary: "He was of middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough; his clothes being made large and easy, the doublet quilted for stillette proof: his breeches in plaits, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets. His eye large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch as many, for shame, have left the room, as being out of countenance. His beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, and made him drink very unseemly, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup on each side of his mouth. His skin was as soft as taffeta sarsenet, which felt so, because



KING JAMES HAWKING.—FROM AN OLD ENGRAVING.

he never washed his hands, only rubbed his fingers' ends slightly with the wet end of a napkin. His legs were very weak, having had, as some thought, some foul play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that he was not able to stand at seven years of age; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders; his walk was ever circular." Osborn also has described his appearance, and adds, "I shall leave him dressed for posterity in the colours I saw him, in the next progress after his inauguration, which was as green as the grass he trod on; with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword at his side. How suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave others to judge from his picture." This agrees with a representation of James, in a woodcut of that day, which has supplied the authority for the engraving opposite, representing the king engaged in rural sports.


From what has been said, the reader will perceive that there was a great change in the ruling sovereign of Britain; and as we proceed, the truth of the words of the prophet will be fully exemplified in our own land, as in that of Israel of old. "Thou showest loving kindness unto thousands, and recompensest the iniquity of the fathers into the bosom of their children after them: the Great, the Mighty God, the Lord of hosts is his name, great in counsel, and mighty in work: for thine eyes are open upon all the ways of the sons of men: to give every one according to his ways, and according to the fruit of his doings," Jer. xxxii. 18, 19.

Before the first year of this reign expired, the public attention was engaged by a conspiracy, or rather by conspiracies; for there were three, or at least two, which were distinguished as "the bye" and "the main." The whole affair is involved in much mystery; but these plots seem to have proceeded from the discontent felt by several of the leading religious or political parties, when each



found their highly-raised expectations from James disappointed : but designs formed by such discordant parties could not proceed far without being detected, nor was there any unity of purpose among the leaders. The extent of the plans varied, from a design merely to interfere with the king's ministers, to a desire to place on the throne the lady Arabella Stuart in his stead. She was the great granddaughter of queen Margaret by her second husband ; her history exhibits the melancholy fate which attends those who are nearly allied to monarchs, and circumstanced so as to excite their jealousy. Several Papists were actively engaged, and the Spanish ambassador took part in these intrigues.

Some of the Puritans, though utterly opposed to the Papists, and satisfied respecting the succession, considered that they had grievances which required to be redressed : one of their leaders, lord Grey, wishing to see a part of the measures of the government changed, was induced to listen to some of the minor plans, but would not proceed when he found how far some of the conspirators were inclined to go, and that the Romish priests were actively concerned. Sir Walter Raleigh also was implicated, though he only seems to have listened for a time to some of the Spanish offers of a large sum of money, if he would promote the interests of that monarch. His abilities rendered him an object of dislike and dread to James and the royal favourites, while his embarrassed circumstances disposed him to listen to proposals for political changes. The leaders were convicted, Markham, Grey, and Cobham were ordered for execution in November, after some irregular trials at Winchester, where the court then was, in which sir Walter defended himself with much ability, though personally abused by Coke, the attorney-general. They were brought forth separately to a scaffold, but after a sort of theatrical display, were told that the king directed that their lives should be spared.



Two priests, and Brooke, the brother of lord Cobham, were executed. Sir Walter Raleigh was kept prisoner in the Tower, where lord Grey also was detained till his death, eleven years afterwards. Cobham purchased his liberation by the disclosures he made, but passed the rest of his life in contempt and poverty. Markham was allowed to retire to the continent, where he afterwards acted as a spy for the government. It was generally considered that sir Walter Raleigh was clear from the deeper designs of the conspirators, and that he was hardly dealt with : the king and his council, however, were glad of the pretext to keep so active a spirit in durance. One cause of the mystery in which these designs were involved, evidently was, that although the king possessed clear evidence of the participation of the Spanish ambassador in these plots, he was afraid to allow the proofs to be brought forward, lest he should be involved in a quarrel with the Spanish monarch. The lady Arabella Stuart fully cleared herself : a letter had been sent her, intimating some design in her favour, but she immediately forwarded it to the king. This conspiracy caused much anxiety to James and his ministers. It indicated that there was much discontent in the nation. The French ambassador wrote respecting it : "I recognise so many seeds of unsoundness in England, so much is brewing in silence, and so many events appear to be inscrutable, as to induce me to maintain that, for a hundred years to come, this kingdom will hardly misuse its prosperity to any other purpose than its own injury." When a kingdom is thus deeply but secretly agitated, there is no need for prophetic powers to say what is likely to be the result. "If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand," Mark iii. 24.

The Puritans had looked forward with considerable hopes to the accession of James, who was a member of the Presbyterian church of Scotland. A petition,

signed by more than eight hundred of the English clergy, was presented to him as early as April, praying for a reform in the ceremonies and discipline of the church. This led to an active controversy, which after some months, was silenced by a royal proclamation, wherein the king declared his attachment to the established church; but promised a conference to examine into particulars. The conference was held in January, 1604, at Hampton Court. A report of it was published by bishop Barlow; but in many respects conformed to the humour of the king, whose pedantic vanity took the opportunity for display: he became chief speaker, instead of moderator, using much coarse, vulgar, and even abusive language, declaring himself decidedly in favour of the highest and most arbitrary proceedings yet attempted. An extract from bishop Barlow's account, and another from sir John Harrington, will show the overbearing and vulgar tone and manner in which the king conducted this discussion. Barlow says—

“His majesty was somewhat stirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without passion or show thereof, thinking that they aimed at a Scottish presbytery, ‘which,’ saith he, ‘as well agreeth with a monarchy, as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus. Then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years before you demand this of me, and then if you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you. For let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But, Dr. Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.’ And here, because that Dr. Reynolds had twice before obtruded the

king's supremacy, 'Dr. Reynolds,' quoth the king, 'you have often spoken for my supremacy, and it is well; but know you any here, or elsewhere, who like of the present government ecclesiastical, that find fault, or dislike my supremacy?'—After making reference to the Scottish Reformation, James is described as saying to the English prelates, 'They think they cannot make their party good against you; but by appealing to it, as if you, or some that adhere unto you, were not well affected towards it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy. No bishop, no king, as I before said. Neither do I speak at random, without ground; for I have observed, since my coming into England, that some preachers before me, can be content to pray for James, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; but as for supreme governor, in all causes, and over all persons, as well ecclesiastical as civil, they pass that over with silence, and what cut they have been of, I after learned.' After this, asking if they had any more to object, his majesty appointed the next Wednesday for both parties to meet before him; and as he was going to his inner chamber, 'If this be all,' quoth he, 'that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of this land, or else do worse.' And this was the sum of the second day's conference, which raised such an admiration in the lords,—that one of them said, he was fully persuaded his majesty spake by the instinct of the Spirit of God."—Barlow adds, "Surely, whosoever heard his majesty, might justly think that that title did more properly fit him, which Eunapius gave to that famous rhetorician, in saying, that he was 'a living library, and a walking study.'"

The king afterwards described the part he took in the conference by saying, "I peppered them soundly." But sir John Harrington, who was present, shrewdly remarked upon some commending the manner in

which the king spoke, that "the spirit was rather foul-mouthed." Some coarse expressions which he states the king to have used, must be omitted here ; he says, the king talked much Latin ; but rather used upbraidings than argument, and bade the petitioners to "away with their snivelling."

The serious reader must deeply regret the manner and spirit in which this important conference was conducted. Without entering into the matters then under dispute, which belong to the ecclesiastical historian, it is impossible not to see that there was much bitterness and prejudice on the one side, and much tenacity and disgusting flattery on the other, while there was not even an outward show of desire for Christian unity, and the king made no reference to any but personal and worldly motives. It is painful to record, that archbishop Whitgift did not hesitate to declare that his majesty spoke by the Spirit of God. He must have disapproved of the gross and vulgar threats of the king ; but his flattering words countenanced the conduct of James in this affair.

One benefit, however, resulted from this conference : this was a new translation of the Bible into English, or rather, a careful revision and comparison of the translations in use. The course pursued is described by the Rev. T. H. Horne. "Several objections having been made to the Bishop's Bible at the conference at Hampton Court, in 1603, the king, in the following year, gave orders for the undertaking of a new version, and fifty-four learned men were appointed to this important labour. Ten, at Westminster, were to translate to the end of second Kings ; eight, at Cambridge, to finish the historical books, and the writings of David and Solomon ; seven, at Oxford, the prophetic writings. The Gospels, the Acts, and the Apocalypse were assigned to another company of eight, at Oxford ; and the Epistles to another company of seven, at Westminster ; and the apocryphal books to seven more at Cam-

bridge. The remaining seven are supposed to have died, or withdrawn from the task. Various rules and instructions were given them in the king's name. It seems that each individual translated every book confided to his company ; then they met and agreed upon the reading to be adopted : it was then examined by each of the other companies ; and the whole finally revised by Dr. Smith, bishop of Gloucester, who wrote the preface, and by Dr. Bilson, bishop of Winchester. The work of translating was begun in 1607, and completed in 1610. The translation was first published in folio in 1611, and the versions formerly used fell gradually into disuse."

Let us be thankful that this inestimable treasure is now placed within the reach of all, even the poorest, in this favoured land ; and let us pray that its truths may be increasingly felt and practised.

" A glory gilds the sacred page,  
Majestic like the sun ;  
It gives a light to every age,  
It gives, but borrows none.

The hand that gave it still supplies  
The gracious life and heat ;  
Its truths through all the nations rise,  
They rise, but never set."

There can be no doubt that the cause of true religion has been much advantaged in our land by the care bestowed on this revision, and by its universal adoption, though, like every other human work, it is imperfect ; and in some passages inferior to the Bishops' and Genevan versions.

Having thus shown his high views of the kingly prerogative in matters connected with religion, James did not hesitate to manifest the same temper in civil affairs. The meeting of parliament had been delayed by a pestilence ; but it was summoned for March 19, 1604. In the proclamation, the king ordered the returning officers to send the names of the members elected to the lord chancellor, that their

fitness for the office might be determined. The king's speech was in the same strain, and in it, after alluding to Popery, he still more strongly spoke of the Puritans by name, as a sect "insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth." The result of this was, to embitter those who held such opinions, as well as all who desired to extend the privileges of the people, and to incline them to support any measure opposed to the king.

In the address of the house of commons, in reply to the royal speech, the prerogatives of parliament were thus noticed by the speaker: "By the power of his majesty's great and high court of parliament only," said that officer to the monarch, "new laws are to be instituted, imperfect laws reformed, and inconvenient laws abrogated, whose power therein is such and so absolute, that no such laws can either be instituted, reformed, or abrogated, but by the unity of the commons' agreement, the lords' accord, and your majesty's royal and legal assent: for that this court standeth compounded of two powers, the one ordinary, the other absolute; ordinary in the lords' and commons' proceedings; but in your highness, absolute, either negatively to frustrate, or affirmatively to confirm; but not to institute. The body of which court, or council of state, consisteth of two houses; the one, the lower house of parliament, the members are the knights of the shire, and burgesses of towns and corporations; the other, the higher house, formed of the lords spiritual and temporal."

The commons and the king soon came into collision. Sir Francis Godwin, elected member for the county of Buckingham, had been set aside by the clerk of the crown, and sir John Fortescue, a counsellor, returned in his room on the plea that Godwin had been outlawed. The commons asserted that the right of decision respecting the eligibility of members rested only with their house, and declared Godwin duly elected, after an inquiry in which it was

pleaded that the outlawry had been done away by the general pardon at the king's accession. After much dispute, the affair was compromised by setting aside both claimants for the seat, and issuing a new writ. This established the claim of the house of commons to be the sole judges of elections, and was a severe blow to the king, who had indiscreetly reflected upon his immediate predecessors, by declaring that such precedents as had been urged from the times of minors, tyrants, or women, did not deserve attention.

The dispute rendered the parliament less inclined to promote the king's desire for a union between England and Scotland. The real advantages of such a measure were lost sight of under the selfish feelings of a few, who urged that it would be disadvantageous to England, forgetting that unity always strengthens both parties. A disinclination to any measure desired by the king also actuated many; but such reasons are unworthy of all true lovers of their country, and must be injurious to its best interests. In these and other discussions, more than half a year passed, during which the house evaded granting any supply, though earnestly pressed to replenish the exchequer, emptied by the king's profuse carelessness, and pressed by the claims upon the treasury. At last, fearful of an absolute refusal, the king prorogued the parliament, after a session which had continued a year; he was then further mortified by a document prepared by the house of commons, in which they justified their proceedings, and declared the assertions and claims of the king to be unfounded.

James saw that this opposition had partly arisen from his high notions of the prerogative, in matters of religion as well as in those of state; but though he attributed much of his disappointment to those of whom he spoke as "a pack of Puritans," he was not induced to alter his views or to conciliate this



large body of his subjects. The French ambassador again commented on this conduct ; he wrote to his sovereign as follows : " King James, in spite of all this, lives in the conviction that he is wiser than all his councillors ; and is able, in spite of all complications, to remain neuter, and enjoy peace and repose. I, on the other hand, contemplate the approach of much misfortune and confusion ; and can assure your majesty, that you have rather reason to reflect on, and compassionate his perversity and its ruinous results, than to fear his power."

Without dwelling upon ecclesiastical matters, it may be remarked, that the conduct pursued by those high in authority did much to increase the number disaffected to the ruling powers, both in church and state. This gave advantage to designing men, and drove many to act together against the royal authority, who differed widely among themselves, while it strengthened the hands of merely political partisans. This feeling was further increased by the view generally taken of a body of canons, adopted by the clergy in convocation, in 1604 ; but these, not being sanctioned by the parliament, the judges did not hesitate to prohibit ultimate proceedings against the laity, founded upon them. These measures were urged forward by archbishop Bancroft, and others of the leading clergy ; one, however, the bishop of St. David's, pleaded for milder courses, and said, " I wish, that if by petitions made to the king's majesty, there cannot be obtained a complete removal of the premises which seem too grievous to divers, nor yet a toleration for them that are of the more staid and temperate carriage, yet at least there might be procured a mitigation of the penalty, if they cannot be drawn by our reasons to a conformity with us." Hutton, archbishop of York, also declared his opinion respecting the measures then urged forward. He said, " The Puritans, whose fanatical zeal I dislike, though they differ in ceremonies and acci-

dents, yet they agree with us in substance of religion ; and I think all, or the most part of them, love his majesty and the present estate, and I hope will yield to conformity. But the Papists are opposite and contrary in very substantial points of religion, and cannot but wish the pope's authority, and popish religion to be established. It is high time to look unto them ; very many are gone from all places to London, and some are come down to this country in great jollity, almost triumphantly. But his majesty, as he hath been brought up in the gospel, and understands religion exceedingly well, so he will protect, maintain, and advance it even unto the end ; so that if the gospel shall quail, and Popery prevail, it will be imputed principally to your great counselors, who either procure or yield to grant toleration to some."

At the present day, persons of different views naturally differ in their opinions, as to the measures just described ; but all must agree, that by these measures political and religious matters were mixed together, so as not to be separated during the proceedings that followed, and which thereby received much of the peculiar character they exhibit.

The Romanists were not less disappointed than the Puritans, at the course pursued by James on his accession to the throne of England. They had expected a repeal of some of the laws affecting them, if not a full toleration, for James certainly was more favourably disposed towards Papists than to the Puritans ; but the measures he pursued relative to the latter, compelled him to assume an appearance of impartiality, by causing the penal laws against the Papists to be enforced, in some instances at least. They especially suffered by fines ; the poverty of the king, and the rapacity of many of his Scottish dependents, often led to grants of these fines to those who pressed for his bounty, the penalty of twenty pounds being incurred for every month a Papist

absented himself from church. The Papists were also divided among themselves; those denominated the English party, who were more willing than their fellows to live quietly, were goaded to discontent by the immediate agents of the pope, especially the Jesuits. There is full reason to believe that these men not only urged their more quiet brethren to disloyalty; but that they also, at times, by secret informations against them, actually caused the laws to be enforced more severely, that discontent might thereby be increased. It is no uncommon practice of Jesuits to be found apparently zealous, and active against Popery, under various disguises and assumed characters. That James had expressed himself favourably towards the Papists there can be no doubt. The earl of Northumberland communicated with him while queen Elizabeth was in her last illness, and afterwards declared that he was authorized to give the Romanists hopes that they should be well dealt withal. It is stated, that James not only wrote to this effect, but even added, "It were a pity to lose so good a kingdom for not tolerating mass in a corner, if upon that it resteth."

In this state of things, some active Papists formed that atrocious conspiracy, commonly called the Gunpowder Plot, which will never be forgotten, though the Romanists make every effort to extenuate the deed, and to prevent its being duly remembered. Protestants, also, when considering the details of this plot, are very apt to forget that the more important features which distinguish it are, the undeniable and complete exposure of two of the atrocious principles maintained by the church of Rome. These are, that the end sanctifies the means, so that any proceedings may be adopted to crush heresy; and that a priest is not to take measures to prevent any purposed crime, which has been communicated to him by way of confession—while it rests with himself, in a great measure, to determine whether anything told him is a

communication of that nature. Upon these points are grounded the only excuses which the advocates of the church of Rome can offer to extenuate this atrocious design. That they are invalid, and contrary to Scripture, need hardly be said ; but it must also be remembered that these excuses, which, in reality only aggravate the crime, are not applicable in this instance. Even these subterfuges are not left for the Papist in this matter.

The history of the Gunpowder Plot is shortly as follows. Robert Catesby was a gentleman of Northamptonshire, whose family had suffered in the cause of the pope, during the last reign. Catesby himself also was heavily fined for taking part in the last lawless attempt of the earl of Essex. He afterwards had much intercourse with the Jesuits, and while so engaged, formed the atrocious design of destroying the king and both houses of parliament, by an explosion of gunpowder.

It may be well to observe, that among the rumoured plots against Elizabeth, noticed by the writers of her day, was one of a plan to destroy the queen and her court by the very same means.

Catesby communicated his design to others, who were induced to join him in the plot : the earliest of these were Winter, Guido Vaux, or Guy Fawkes, Wright, and Percy, a relation of the earl of Northumberland, to whom he was steward. These five bound themselves together by privately communicating at mass ; receiving the sacrament from a priest named Gerard, who, if he was not exactly aware of the nature of the plot, must have known that the parties had formed some dark design ; but it was the special business of these missionaries of the pope to foment disturbances against the state, as well as to oppose the established faith. How different are the Protestant missionaries, who go forth throughout the world as the heralds of peace, bearing only the glad tidings of salvation !

## By these missionaries—

The sacred book no longer suffers wrong,  
 Bound in the fetters of an unknown tongue;  
 But speaks with plainness, art could never mend,  
 What simplest minds can soonest comprehend.  
 God gives the word, the preachers throng around,  
 Live from his lips, and spread the glorious sound;  
 That sound bespeaks salvation on her way,  
 The trumpet of a life-restoring day;  
 'Tis heard where England's eastern glories shines,  
 And in the gulfs of the Cornubian mines.  
 And still it spreads. See Germany send forth  
 Her sons, to pour it on the farthest north;  
 Fired with a zeal peculiar, they defy  
 The rage and vigour of a polar sky,  
 And plant, successfully, sweet Sharon's Rose,  
 On icy plains, and in eternal snows.

Since these lines were written, the missionary spirit has gone through the breadth and length of our land, constituting one of the most pleasing features that distinguish England at the present day; the result has been the diffusing the knowledge of God's word in every quarter of the globe, though as yet only to a limited extent.

In August, 1604, the peace between England and Spain was finally settled; but no mention was made in the treaty of any relief to the Romanists. Catesby and his companions then set about their design in earnest. A house adjoining the building in which the house of lords met was taken; and during the month of December considerable progress was made in excavating a mine beneath the wall which separated the buildings, the conspirators intending to complete their preparations against the next meeting of parliament, when that meeting was deferred to October 3, of the following year.

The long interval thus unexpectedly afforded, caused the conspirators to suspend their proceedings. Some of them began to doubt whether it were lawful to destroy the whole parliament, as some of their own faith would be there among the Protestants; but respecting the destruction of the latter they did not hesitate. In this dilemma, Catesby inquired of

father Garnet, the provincial or chief of the Jesuits in England, "Whether it were lawful, in a just and good cause, to adopt measures which, though framed only for the guilty, would sometimes include the innocent?" The Jesuit priest, without hesitation, declared that such a proceeding was lawful; and Catesby, thus strengthened, overcame the scruples of his associates. Let the Protestant remark that this "cause," "just and good" in the eyes of Papists, was the total destruction, or wholesale murder of the king, lords, and commons, and their attendants! If Garnet was not then acquainted with the design, he soon afterwards was apprised of it, through Greenway, another Jesuit, to whom it was made known. Doubtless he was a participator in the conspiracy; and if, as the Papists assert, it was revealed to him in confession, that circumstance in truth only makes his participation in the guilt the more atrocious.

After Christmas, the conspirators resumed their labours, when the mine was stopped by water flowing into it; they then proceeded with vast pains to cut through the wall, nine feet in thickness; but, before this was done, they heard a noise in the adjoining cellar, and found that it was to let. The cellar was directly under the house of lords; thus their object seemed to be secured; but, in the words of Scripture,

They encourage themselves in an evil matter :  
 They commune of laying snares privily ;  
 They say, Who shall see them ?  
 They search out iniquities ;  
 They accomplish a diligent search :  
 Both the inward thought of every one of them, and the heart, is deep.  
 But God shall shoot at them with an arrow ;  
 Suddenly shall they be wounded.  
 So they shall make their own tongue to fall upon themselves.  
 And all men shall fear, and shall declare the work of God.  
 Psal. lxxiv. 5—9.

The cellar was hired in the name of Percy, a quantity of gunpowder was then deposited under a heap of coals and firewood, which covered the barrels from

sight ; and some articles of furniture were stowed in the vault.

The conspirators then separated, but during the summer further measures were taken, by sending Fawkes to communicate with the Spanish rulers in Flanders, and an agent to Rome, to procure aid for an insurrection, which was immediately to follow the atrocious deed. These proceedings caused rumours which were communicated to Cecil from abroad ; but he could not learn the precise nature of the design, whatever it was, in which the active English Papists seemed to be engaged.

Parliament was again prorogued to November 5 ; the conspirators were alarmed at the farther delay ; but Winter attended the prorogation, and as the commissioners evidently were utterly unconscious of any danger, they resolved to proceed. Their plan was now enlarged. A number of Romanists were to be collected by sir Everard Digby in Warwickshire, under pretence of a hunting match ; and directly the result of the explosion was known, prince Charles and the princess Elizabeth, then in that neighbourhood, were to be seized, and a government formed in the name of the prince. Tresham, with several others, were admitted into the conspiracy during the summer of this year.

The final arrangements were made. Fawkes, who had long been fixed upon to fire the train, was to leave the cellar instantly after he had lighted the match, and crossing the river, was directly to embark for Flanders, in a vessel which was prepared for the purpose, that he might obtain military assistance from thence. It was also agreed that some members of both houses should be prevented from attending the fatal meeting. Some further hesitation was shown by Tresham, who not only pleaded earnestly that his relative, lord Monteagle, a moderate Papist, should be spared, but even urged that the explosion should be deferred to the end of the session.

On October 27, lord Monteagle sent to Cecil a letter he had received, which advised Monteagle to be absent from the parliament, as that assembly would receive a terrible blow, yet not see who hurt them: a remarkable expression was added, "the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter." It appeared that lord Monteagle had gone the preceding evening to his country house at Hoxton, then some distance from London, to sup there with his attendants, though this was not his usual custom. While at this meal, a servant brought him the above-mentioned letter, which had just been left by a tall man, who instantly disappeared in the darkness. Lord Monteagle gave it to one of his gentlemen to read aloud, and the next day took it to the secretary of state.

On the same day, the gentleman who had read the letter, called upon Winter, knowing him to be active among the Romanists, and admonished him to take care for his safety if he had any design in hand. Winter and Catesby conferred with Tresham; but were reassured by his answers to their questions, and by Fawkes reporting that the secret marks he had made on the door of the cellar had not been disturbed. They fondly hoped that the letter was too obscure to give the clue to their plot, and resolved to proceed, though Tresham evidently sought to alarm them, so that they might give up the attempt and seek safety in flight.

The king and the council examined the letter, when James expressed a suspicion, from the sentence above quoted, that some explosion by gunpowder was intended. Cecil, however, prevented any immediate search from being made, so that the conspirators were not alarmed. But on the evening of the 4th, the lord chamberlain, while examining the parliament house, entered the cellar. Guy Fawkes was there at the time, and represented himself as the servant of Percy. The lord chamberlain merely



remarked upon the large provision of fuel Percy appeared to have made, and went away. Fawkes told Percy what had passed, and returned to watch in the cellar.

About two o'clock in the morning of November 5, Fawkes went into the street, where he was seized by a magistrate who was waiting for the purpose, and on searching the cellar the gunpowder was discovered. He was immediately carried before the council, and afterwards tortured to force a disclosure of his associates. The leading conspirators hearing that Fawkes was apprehended, took horse, and joined sir Everard Digby. But most of those assembled for the hunting dispersed, while the conspirators retired across the country, endeavouring to gather associates. Being pursued to Holbeach House, in Worcestershire, they were there taken. Catesby, Percy, and the Wrights resisted till they were slain, some of the number being disabled by an accidental explosion of a part of their gunpowder.

The ramifications of the plot were inquired into. Search was made for the Jesuits. Gerard escaped to the continent; Garnet and Greenway, after a long search, were found concealed at Henlip, in Worcestershire, where they were secreted in a closet built in one of the chimneys for more than a week, while the officers abode in the house searching for them; but hunger and exhaustion from confinement, at last obliged them to come forth. Garnet denied any knowledge of the plot, excepting by way of confession; this evidently was an equivocation, or perhaps he chose to receive as confession what another told him as a direct communication. The jesuitical, or popish doctrine of equivocation was fully exposed in the course of the examination. Tresham died in prison; before his death he retracted his confession, and declared that he did not know Garnet. But Garnet had admitted his knowledge of Tresham, and being asked to explain, said that Tre-

sham probably meant "to equivocate," and did not hesitate to state, "that the speech by equivocation, being saved from a lie, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require." Upon this no lengthened remark need be made. Even the modern Romish historian, skilful as he is in the arts of palliation, and even of equivocation, is obliged to admit that "the man who maintained such opinions could not reasonably complain if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." Thus murder and treason are said to be lawful, though the Bible declares the reverse in every page.\*

The conspirators were executed amidst the just execrations of the people; and the nation at large called for stricter proceedings against the followers and devotees of a faith, so dangerous and destructive to the rulers and to the people. But the deep atrocity of the plot had not failed to work upon the cowardice of James. He purposed to avoid the repetition of such acts by relaxing his severities against the Romanists, and gave evident indications by his speech when the parliament opened on November 9, for he did not hesitate to reflect upon the Puritans as having principles still worse than the Papists! This fully showed the bent of the king's mind. We will not blame his willingness to refrain from severities

\* A disclosure of the plot was published at that time by authority, and the trial of the conspirators is in the State Trials; but reference to the original examinations, and other documents, has shown that matters were suppressed which might implicate others whose names were kept back. These are noticed in some recent works on the subject, particularly in the second volume of Criminal Trials by Jardine. The statement, therein given, is very full and important, and cannot be objected to as partial; but the writer investigates the gun-powder plot merely as a legal question, and does not fully expose the principles of Popery. The latter has been done by others; and in the *Visitor* for 1842, published by the Religious Tract Society, will be found a full account of this conspiracy, to which the reader's attention is directed: only a brief outline could be given in this place.

which would amount to persecution for religion ; but his conduct did not arise from such a motive.

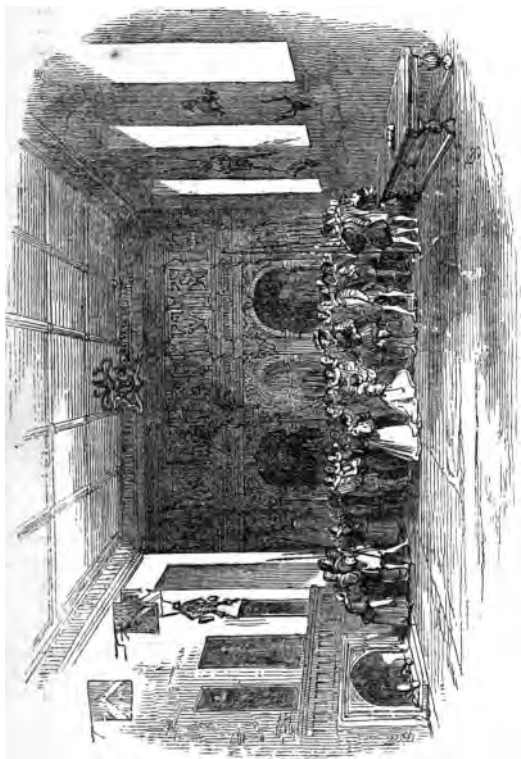
The particulars of this atrocious plot have been constantly impressed upon the minds of English Protestants ; but of late years the Papists have made some bold attempts to throw discredit upon the history—some even daring to speak of it as a false plot of Cecil's. Their effort has proved beneficial, by producing a careful examination of all the documents connected with the design, and the disclosures give irrefragable evidence against the principles and the practices of Popery. Some particulars, kept back at the time from policy, have been disclosed, especially as to the way in which the plot was found out. There now is little doubt but it was by Tresham's alarm when the time for executing the deed approached ; and there is strong reason to apprehend that lord Monteagle had some information, if not some guilty knowledge of the plot, and that the letter, and its being received, were planned with his knowledge. If so, how much more commendable the conduct of the peer than that of the Jesuit priest, though not free from duplicity.

When the parliament assembled in January, 1606, the members showed their abhorrence of the late treasonable plot, by directing that the 5th of November should be observed as a day of public thanksgiving ; and severe enactments were made against Popery, which certainly must be considered as proceeding from political rather than religious grounds. They were too rigorous to be generally or strictly enforced ; but the violent proceedings of the Papists, and their avowed designs against all Protestants, led to these measures. The king, as already stated, did not enforce them : one result of this was, to attach the Romanists to the crown in opposition to the parliament.

A large supply, yet hardly meeting the royal debts, was voted to the king by this parliament, amounting

to nearly half a million ; but a desire was also shown to procure the redress of grievances. Against this James endeavoured to guard when the parliament re-assembled in November, by high assertions about his prerogative, and by cautioning the house of commons to repress any member who might be disposed to enter upon such questions. One of the first measures brought under consideration, was a union with Scotland, which was opposed, and withdrawn by the king's consent. But an important point connected with this subject was brought forward in another manner. The question of naturalization being submitted to the decision of the courts of law, they solemnly decided that all persons born as subjects to the crown of England, were entitled to the same privileges wherever its dominion extended. That decision placed all who were born after the accession of James to the English throne, on the same footing, whether natives of England or Scotland. It was not pronounced till 1608 ; but the unpleasant feelings caused by the discussion induced James again to close the session of parliament, and to resort to various expedients for raising money, all of which tended to alienate those who had to advance it, particularly the levying duties or imposts by the royal authority alone. Cecil found his office far more burdensome than under queen Elizabeth, though he was allowed to exercise greater power. He spoke in strong terms to Harrington of the difference.

The profuseness of James contrasted very unfavourably with the care of his predecessor, who seldom troubled her subjects for money. Thereby she prevented the discussions to which such applications gave rise, and which, by causing examination into many matters, tended to limit the power of the crown. He also thereby lost much of the advantage of his pacific disposition ; and as causes and effects react upon each other, so his arbitrary disposition



THE GREAT HALL OF A NOBLEMAN'S HOUSE IN THE TIME OF JAMES I.

and foolish predilection for favourites, were both strengthened by this opposition, and also tended to excite it further.

The king's choice of favourites was among the greatest evils of his reign, and did much to alienate his subjects. After his accession to the throne of England, the first he selected was Philip Herbert, brother of the earl of Pembroke. Herbert was far less obnoxious than his successor, and the sums lavished on him, though large, were less considerable in their amount.

The king's love of pleasure was also marked. He spent whole days in hunting, and concluded them by excesses at the table, refusing to give regular attention to the business of state. The salary of the officer who looked after his fighting cocks was two hundred pounds, equal to that assigned to the secretaries of state. The queen also indulged in expensive masques and revels; and on a visit from her brother, the king of Denmark, in the summer of 1607, the whole court exhibited disgusting scenes of excess and riot. Harrington describes one of these allegorical exhibitions, when the person representing the queen of Sheba, and also the king of Denmark, were both so drunk, that on attempting to dance they rolled on the floor together. Hope was too much intoxicated to speak her part, Faith was hardly able to stagger out of the room, Victory was overcome with liquor, and fell asleep; while Peace, in a similar state, "rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming." He adds, "The lord of the mansion is overwhelmed in preparations at Theobald's, and doth marvellously please both kings with good meat, good drink, and good speeches. I do often say, but not aloud, that the Danes have again conquered the Britons; for I see no man, or woman either, that can now conduct himself or herself."

Conduct so diametrically opposed to the precepts

of Him who declares, "By me kings reign and princes decree justice," could not bring down a blessing upon this monarch or his successors.

The policy and principles of James were further shown, by his seeking the marriage of his eldest son, prince Henry, with a Spanish princess. For one situated as James had always been, and now the king of England, to desire a family union with a bigoted Papist, plainly manifested that his affections were set upon the things of this world, and that with a very short-sighted policy, actuated by arbitrary principles.

Some passing events require to be mentioned. The inclosure of waste lands, caused by the improvement of agriculture and the increase of population, excited partial insurrections in the midland counties. The excesses were chiefly levelling of the newly erected fences; the mobs were speedily dispersed, and the ringleaders hanged. The Dutch consented to pay a yearly sum as an acknowledgment for permission to fish on the coasts of England. The necessities of the king disposed him to snatch at any pecuniary benefit, or he would have seen that to disburse an equal sum to encourage the fisheries of his own subjects, would have been far more beneficial to him in the result. A like feeling probably was the actuating principle in another important commercial measure—the renewal of the charter of the East India Company; and also in allowing a scheme for settling colonies of English Protestants on the forfeited estates and lands lying waste in the north of Ireland. The superior condition of the province of Ulster at the present day, compared with the rest of Ireland, shows that still more important benefits would have resulted, had this measure been fully carried into effect in a right spirit. Colonies were also sent to North America; these will require special notice. Hudson's Bay was discovered in 1600.

Considerable alarm was excited at the increase of

buildings in London ; a proclamation forbade any to be erected on new foundations, within two miles of the metropolis. At that period, the city was densely peopled, while the confined and filthy state of the habitations caused the plague to be always lurking in some corner. In the first two years of this reign nearly seventy thousand persons died of the plague in the city. One important measure for the health and comfort of the metropolis was begun in 1609, and finished in 1613 ; the bringing a supply of pure water from Hertfordshire to the north of London, by a canal called the New River. Sir Hugh Middleton, the projector, sunk his whole fortune in the enterprize, which was at last finished by the help of the king. James also engaged in some public buildings at Whitehall and elsewhere ; a plan was devised for establishing a college for learned men, Chelsea College being set apart for that purpose.

The most important event on the continent, was the acknowledgment of the independence of the United Provinces, to which the king of Spain was compelled reluctantly to consent in 1609. This event, so favourable to Protestantism, was soon followed by another, which exhibited the fruits of popish principles—the assassination of Henry iv., by Ravilliac, at the instigation of the Jesuits, notwithstanding that prince had outwardly conformed to Popery.

King James's need of money led to the re-assembling of parliament in February, 1610. Some measures of a conciliatory description were adopted by way of preparation. Several members who had been excluded from the office of justice of the peace, for their disposition to inquire into grievances, were now replaced ; and, in his speech, the king even invited the commons to state their grievances.—He appears to have been, in some degree, sincere in his professions of a desire to conciliate the people : his necessities had taught him that this must be done, for he



applied for six hundred thousand pounds to meet his exigencies, and a regular increase of revenue of two hundred thousand pounds. It would have been well had this disposition been met promptly and yet firmly, by supplying the king with what was really necessary, requiring beneficial measures in return. Such a course might have saved the property of thousands, and the temporary subversion of the monarchy; but the iniquities of the land required chastisement; they bring to mind the threatenings so repeatedly given by the Lord to Israel of old, "Because they had not executed my judgments, but had despised my statutes, and had polluted my sabbaths, and their eyes were after their fathers' idols," Ezek. xx. 24. Many passages referring to the national sins of God's ancient people, might well be applied to the guilt and the vices which then prevailed in England. "They have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way.—Wherefore hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men, that rule this people.—The hail shall sweep away the refuge of lies, and the waters shall overflow the hiding place," Isa. xxviii. May not these truths afford a useful lesson now?

Lord, when thy judgments shake the land,  
Thy people's eyes are fixed on thee;  
And own thy just uplifted hand,  
Which thousands cannot, will not see.

After the meeting of parliament in 1610, dissensions soon arose. One of the earliest matters that caused debate, was a dispute between the common lawyers, who practised according to the laws of the land, or statute law; and the practitioners of the civil law, originally based on the law of the Roman empire, embodied in the code of Justinian. The latter had become a part of the legal practice of most of the nations of Europe; it favoured the regal prerogatives and the views of the clergy, while the common law placed restrictions on both. In the existing state of things, the disputes of these parties

excited general interest, and involved the other questions that agitated the public mind. Dr. Cowell, a civilian, had published a book, in which he urged the right of the king of England to make and unmake laws, and raise money without the consent of parliament, his book having been encouraged by archbishop Bancroft and the king. He stated, "Either the king is above the parliament, that is, the positive laws of his kingdom, or else he is not an absolute king." And elsewhere, "The king is above the law by his absolute power; and, his coronation oath notwithstanding, he may alter or suspend any particular law that seemeth hurtful to the public estate." The commons applied to the lords, who joined in a remonstrance to the king against the diffusion of such doctrines. In the existing state of affairs, the king could not refuse; the book was suppressed by proclamation, and the author was imprisoned for a short time.

Next came under debate the taxes levied on goods imported by the royal authority alone. James did not hesitate to assert his absolute power in the strongest terms, claiming authority to exercise it by Divine right, though perhaps it might be limited by the laws of England; saying, "As to dispute what God may do is blasphemy; so it is sedition in subjects, to dispute what a king may do in the plenitude of his power." The commons entered boldly into the question, alleging that otherwise they should not leave to their successors the freedom received from their forefathers. They also sought to remove some of the burdens remaining from the feudal system; among these were the exactions practised under the name of purveyance; and the interference of the king by the court of wards, with the property of persons under age, and widows; by which he received large sums from the estates of orphans during their minority, and considerable amounts for bestowing them in marriage. These grievances were strongly

felt, so that the king at length consented to relinquish wardship, on receiving an income of 200,000*l*. The sources for this revenue could not be at once fixed on ; a sum of about 100,000*l*. was granted as a temporary supply at the end of the session.

When the parliament again assembled, it was still less favourable to the royal views of prerogative. Some ill-judging spirits influenced the house to oppose the king's demands for compensation ; after an angry speech, and an unsuitable reply, James dissolved this parliament on December 31, 1611. Both parties were to blame ; in these latter measures the commons were apparently the most to be censured. A fair opportunity for conciliating the king, and obtaining important benefits for the people, was lost. But the royal proceedings also caused needless irritation, while the king's difficulties were increased, as he had no way of obtaining money but by an appeal to his subjects.

Cecil, the prime minister, deeply felt these increasing troubles. The sale of the crown lands ; and loans partly forced from rich individuals ; with the sale of the rank of baronet, then instituted for the purpose, and for which seventy-six country gentlemen paid 1,000*l*. each ;—these were the principal resources to meet increasing debt and diminished popularity. Cecil was already in an ill state of health ; his maladies being aggravated by his anxieties, he died when returning from Bath in May, 1612. His attendants had, for some time, anticipated the result. In 1604 he had written to a friend, " You know all my former steps, good knight ; rest content, and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a court, and gone heavily over the best seeming fair ground. It is a great task to prove one's honesty, and yet not spoil one's fortune. You have tasted a little hercof in our blessed queen's time, who was more than a man, and in truth, sometimes less than a woman. I wish I waited now in

her presence chamber, with ease at my food, and rest in my bed. I am pushed from the shore of comfort, and know not where the winds and waves of a court will bear me ; I know it bringeth little comfort on earth ; and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this way to heaven." Such are the thorns which break the repose of statesmen and men in authority.

The death of Cecil was soon followed by another, considered at the time still more disastrous to the nation ; but there are some previous events to notice. In May, 1610, Henry, the king's eldest son, was created prince of Wales and duke of Cornwall, and put in possession of the revenues assigned to that station : a considerable establishment was also formed for him, and a country seat at Bramshill, Hants, was to be prepared for his residence. From this time, he engaged much of the public attention. His manners and disposition wholly differed from those of his father. His bearing was princely ; he delighted in warlike exercises, and sought popularity ; he already had considerable influence, and professed himself a decided supporter of the Protestant faith.

Another event was the death of archbishop Bancroft, who was succeeded by Abbot, a man endowed with a milder spirit than his predecessor, and imbued with real religion. This gave some relaxation to the persecutions for conscience' sake, in which the Puritans had suffered more extensively than the Papists. The lady Arabella Stuart was found to have privately married a grandson of the earl of Hertford. Jealous of her pretensions to the crown, however inferior to his own, the king caused her to be kept in custody ; being taken in an attempt to escape, she was detained in the Tower till her death.

The year 1611 saw one matter of the greatest importance, the publication of the new translation of the Bible. Would that James had been as desirous to be guided by the word of God, as he professed to be anxious for its right promulgation ; of that word,

the translation of which into the language of the people was the greatest boon any monarch ever bestowed on a nation—that word, of which a ruler in former ages could say, “How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth! Through thy precepts I get understanding: therefore I hate every false way,” Psa. cxix. 103, 104.

---

## PART II.

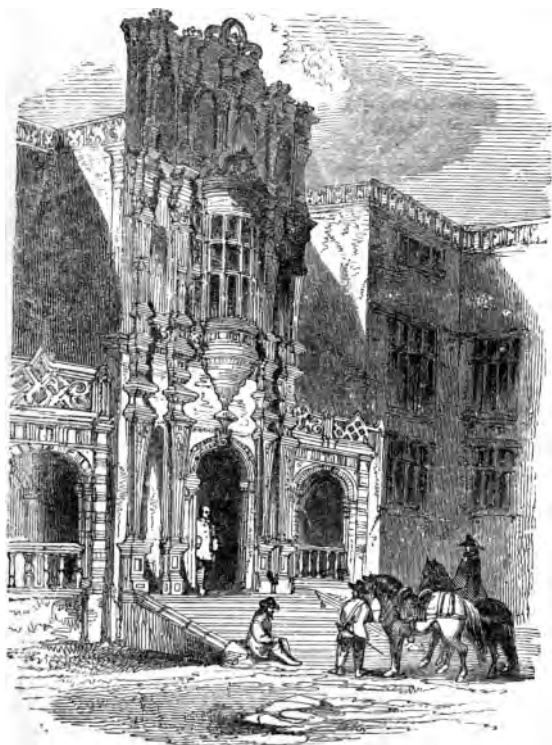
FROM A.D. 1612, TO A.D. 1625.

In 1612, king James directed the remains of his mother, Mary queen of Scots, to be removed from Peterborough to Westminster Abbey. His filial feelings also caused the destruction of Fotheringhay Castle, where she had been executed; a mound of earth alone marks its site.

The marriage of the king's eldest daughter Elizabeth with the elector palatine, was solemnized in February, 1613. This was a popular union, being with one of the German Protestant princes; but it soon led to considerable troubles and inconveniences, though the result was prosperous for England, inasmuch as the Protestant princes of the house of Hanover are descended from this marriage. This union was preceded by a melancholy event. Prince Henry, whose regard for Protestantism had led him to favour the project of this alliance, died in November, 1612, at the age of nineteen, after a short illness. Strong suspicions of his being poisoned were entertained by many; dark surmises were hinted against the royal favourite, Carr, earl of Rochester, and even the king himself; the latter, it was remarked, would not allow of any mourning being worn. But this was only from his perverse disposition; he had latterly disliked the prince, and disapproved many of the proceedings which rendered him popular. The

death of prince Henry evidently proceeded from fever: the minute account preserved of his illness, tends to show that a bolder practice on the part of his physicians, would, in human probability, have prolonged his life; <sup>but</sup> the event was ordered otherwise, and this young prince went to the grave generally lamented.

The Christian knows that all things are ordered aright, and therefore, in speaking of past events, he ventures only to observe upon them, so as may best assist to draw instruction from them. Many have considered that the death of this prince was one event that led to the various dissensions that followed, ending in the violent death of his brother, and the temporary suppression of the monarchy. They apprehend that Henry would have avoided the fatal course in which Charles hurried forward; or that his superior powers would have enabled him to meet and overcome the enemies of the monarchy. It is also considered that Henry would have opposed, instead of encouraging the unpopular measures of the leading ecclesiastics. The indications of the prince's character favour these suppositions; but, on the other hand, his predilection for war, and contempt of his father's peaceful policy, were notorious. Had he plunged the nation into a series of ambitious, warlike enterprises, this course could not have been for the welfare of the country; it might, in another way, have proved equally injurious to the liberties of the people. The high estimate of the regal prerogative, innate in every prince of the Stuart family, always tended to separate them from their subjects. This prince had, however, exhibited amiable traits, and some sense of religion, though exposed to the sins and follies of the court, and at times led astray by them. He attended and valued the preaching of bishop Hall, and was influenced by the advice of his governor, sir Thomas Chelmer. He had a particular aversion to swearing and profaneness. Once, at a hunting match, a



BRAMSHILL, HANTS.  
THE INTENDED RESIDENCE OF HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

butcher passed with his dog, which sprang at the stag, and killed it ; the huntsmen were greatly irritated, and endeavoured to provoke the prince against the butcher ; but his highness answered coolly, " True, the butcher's dog has killed the stag, and how could the butcher help it ? " They replied, " That if his father had been so served, he would have sworn so that no man could have endured." " Away ! " cried the prince, " all the pleasures in the world are not worth an oath." The same answer he is said so have given, when asked, Why he did not swear at play, like other young persons ? He answered, " He knew no game worthy of an oath." A remark well deserving remembrance by those of the lower, as well as of the upper ranks. Let not the declaration by the prophet be forgotten, " Because of swearing the land mourneth," Jer. xxiii. 10. One of the crying sins of the seventeenth century was profane swearing, which practice may be traced back to the days of Popery. Bramshill House, a noble pile in Hampshire, begun to be built as a residence for prince Henry ; but before the building was completed, the earthly palace was not needed, for he was gone to the narrow house appointed for all men.

The history of the royal favourites must be resumed ; it includes some notice of a horrible proceeding. The second favourite of James was Robert Carr, a handsome youth, aged twenty, descended from a good family of Scotland, who arrived in London about the close of 1609, from travelling on the continent. Lord Hay contrived that he should be employed to present the king's buckler and device at a tilting match. Thereby he engaged the attention of James, but was thrown from his horse, and broke his leg. The king went to visit him when the tilting was over, and immediately entertained for him the same regard, so ridiculous and disgraceful, if not worse, which he had shown for his previous



favourites. This increased after the youth had recovered. Carr being very ignorant, James, with his usual pedantry, constituted himself his instructor, and indulged unlimited fondness for this minion, wishing that he should appear to be formed in learning and conduct by his instructions. Honours and riches were heaped upon the youth, who was created viscount Rochester, while deserving men were left in penury and disregard, and money could not be found for the needful expenses of government. Carr had, however, a wise adviser in sir Thomas Overbury, and while he listened to him was kept from becoming wholly an object of dislike and contempt; but he did not long pursue this prudent course.

The earl of Essex, who afterwards became a prominent character in opposition to the royal cause, was married at the early age of fourteen to lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, then a year younger. As the marriage was devised merely to unite the families, the earl went to the university, and afterwards travelled, while the bride remained with her mother. But she early showed a vile and depraved character, and the manners of the court were calculated to increase these evil qualities. She soon became the paramour of viscount Rochester, and when Essex returned, refused to live with him, alleging reasons which were false; even if they were true, no woman possessing modest or decorous feelings could have stated them. She also had recourse to conjurors, and to those who practised what was called "the black art," or attempted to use Satanic agency to forward her desire to be divorced from Essex, that she might marry Rochester. The latter consulted Overbury, who, though he had aided the favourite in his sinful course, strongly advised him against all thoughts of such a union, alleging that such a base wretch as lady Frances must prove his ruin. The weak favourite told his paramour this advice, when she determined to be revenged on

Overbury, and to remove him from thwarting her plans. After a vain attempt to assassinate him, he was offered an embassy, but at the same time the favourite advised him to decline it ; thus Overbury was brought under the king's displeasure, and committed to the Tower. The earl of Northampton, related to lady Frances, recommended a new governor to that fortress, sir Gervas Elwes : he was appointed by the interest of Rochester, and connived at the murderous plots devised by this wicked woman. After several attempts which failed from the strength of his constitution, Overbury was poisoned, and his body hurried to the grave ; but this fatal conclusion did not take place till September, 1614.

The legal proceedings for the divorce of the countess from Essex had gone forward ; to these the king gave his support with the most disgusting pedantry. Seven of the judges were induced to decide for the divorce : some of the leading prelates were brought to bear a part in the proceedings ; but, much to their credit, the primate and the bishop of London refused to be concerned therein. The details need not be noticed here ; the favourite was created earl of Somerset, and married to the divorced countess in the Chapel Royal, August, 1613, when James thought he had effected a matter which would strengthen his government, exhibiting also at once his scholarship, and that talent for ruling which he called king-craft. For a short time, this sinful course seemed to have attained all that was sought by it ; but it eventually realized in the fullest extent the words of Scripture : " Bread of deceit is sweet to a man ; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel," Prov. xx. 17.

The royal extravagance by this time had rendered the assembling of parliament a necessary measure. Somerset, with others, undertook to influence the elections, which brought upon them the name of "undertakers ;" but they failed : a house of commons still less favourable to the court than the last,

was returned, and assembled in April, 1614. The king made large promises, and uttered many learned sentiments, but he ordered the members to begin by voting a supply. The commons refused; they at once desired a conference with the lords on the subject of "impositions," or the levying of imposts on the subjects by the royal authority only. In this conference, Neale, bishop of Lincoln, declared that the right of levying these imposts was in the king alone, asserting that it could not be questioned without approaching to sedition. The commons complained of such a statement, and the lords compelled the bishop to acknowledge his error on his knees at the bar of their house. The royal authority to levy taxes was strongly advocated by the courtiers, who appealed to the examples of France, Spain, and other countries; but they were reminded that the government of those countries was despotic. The opinion of the judges was sought; they were unfavourable to such claims. The house continued to discuss various subjects for two months, when the king in anger dissolved the parliament; following this weak measure by the still more unpopular one of imprisoning several members, assigning as a reason what they had said in the house of parliament, which increased the indignation against the arbitrary proceeding. It was plain that the king and the commons had different ideas of the constitution.

Another favourite now engaged the king's regard; George Villiers, son of sir Edward Villiers, of Leicestershire. Like his predecessors, he was more remarkable for personal accomplishments than for any real talents. Archbishop Abbot was weak enough to be persuaded to ask the queen to patronize this youth, and the king's favour was soon secured. Villiers was first noticed at Cambridge, whither the king had gone in a progress, being pleased and interested by the opportunity of displaying his pedantic learning before the members of the university.

The rise of Villiers led to the fall of Somerset. A rumour of Overbury's murder was circulated so currently, that James, being willing to get rid of his former favourite, ordered his arrest and trial in 1615. The proceedings on this occasion are characteristic of this monarch. A contemporary says : " The king was accompanied with Somerset to Royston, where no sooner he brought him but instantly took his leave, little imagining what viper lay among the herbs. Nor must I forget to let you know how perfect the king was in the art of dissimulation, or, to give it his own phrase, king-craft. The earl of Somerset never parted from him with more seeming affection than at this time, when he knew Somerset should never see him more. The earl, when he kissed his hand, the king hung about his neck, slobbering his cheeks, saying (with his accustomed profane expressions) ' When shall I see thee again ? ' The earl told him, ' On Monday,' this being on the Friday. ' Let me,' said the king ; ' shall I, shall I ? ' then lolled about his neck, ' then give thy lady this kiss for me.' In the same manner at the stair's head, at the middle of the stairs, and at the stair's foot. But the earl was not in his coach when the king used these very words, (in the hearing of four servants, of whom one was Somerset's great creature, and of the bedchamber, who reported it instantly to the relater of this fact,) ' I shall never see thy face more.' " On his arrival in London, the earl was conveyed to the Tower ; the countess had previously been arrested. Sir Thomas Monson, the king's falconer, who was accused of being concerned in the death of Overbury, and several others, were also secured.

When the wretched culprits were safely imprisoned, James spoke out, complaining that they had made him aid their plans for adultery and murder. He also required the chief justice Coke to be impartial, imprecating a curse upon the judge if he spared any

that were found guilty, and upon himself and his descendants if he pardoned them. The earl of Northampton was implicated, but he had lately died. The trial soon began, Elwes, lieutenant of the tower, Weston, a jailer, Turner, a disgraceful woman, who had much influence at court as an intriguer and fortune-teller, with Franklin an apothecary, who compounded the poisons, were all convicted, partly by the evidence of accomplices, and executed. Thus, "the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands," Psa. ix. 15, and often those who have been the means of tempting others to sin, are the first to accuse and betray them. Those whom the apostle describes as "foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures," are also said to be "hateful, and hating one another," Tit. iii. 3. There is no real confidence among the ungodly. But sir Thomas Monson, the king's falconer, though brought to trial, was, for some secret cause liberated, the proceedings against him being suddenly stopped by the king's orders to the chief justice. The countess pleaded guilty. Somerset was condemned by the unanimous vote of the peers, but to the general astonishment, the king, notwithstanding his solemn protestations, spared their lives, and afterwards pardoned them. They were liberated from the Tower in 1621, but were required to live in a state of banishment at one of their country seats, on a yearly allowance of 4000*l.*, while Buckingham had the greater part of their estates. Here they lived in bitter animosity with each other, and all besides. The countess died in 1632, of a painful and loathsome disease; the earl died in 1645.

The lenity of James, in contradiction to his solemn protestation, cannot be excused. Documents yet exist which show that Somerset acted with unconcern, braving the proceedings against him, and daring the king to put him on his trial. Sir George More, who was then in command of the Tower, thought it necessary to go to the king in the dead of the night

before Somerset was tried, and on his return assured the wicked fallen favourite of the king's mercy, but said the form of a trial must be gone through. It is also stated, that men were at hand, ready to muffle the prisoner, and force him from the bar as mad, in case he said any thing accusatory of James. In the Loseley papers are some letters from the king to the lieutenant, in which James shows much anxiety that Somerset should be persuaded to confess guilt, without going to trial, also insinuating, or saying, that he must be mad if he should accuse the king of any guilty knowledge of this poisoning. Somerset, however, appeared at the bar, and for eleven hours tried hard, but in vain, to prove himself innocent, during which interval the weak king, then at Greenwich, evinced much wretchedness and impatience, asking particulars of every one who came from the trial; nor was he at ease till all was over without any thing appearing to criminate him. Whether blood-guiltiness or any other crime really placed James in the power of his discarded favourite; or whether Somerset worked upon his natural timidity, cannot now be ascertained. There are circumstances in James's character which show that he was a weak man rather than a deliberately wicked prince; still weakness leads to wickedness, "the thought of foolishness is sin," Prov. xxiv. 9, and he could hardly have patronized these criminals as he did, without some guilty participation. The degree must be a matter of surmise, but it is difficult to suppose that there was not some hidden guilt on the king's part. He well knew the declaration of Scripture, that "a wise king scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the wheel over them," Prov. xx. 26; but when thus brought to the proof, he seems, like the accusers of the adulterous woman when put to the test by our Lord, to have quailed and turned aside, acting as though convicted by his own conscience.

The mis-called religious zeal of James caused him,

in 1614, to consent to the burning of two Arians for heresy. The wickedness of persecution for religious opinions was not yet fully understood: in these cases, also, there was some degree of guilt suspected as to state matters. But the proceedings of James presented a favourable contrast to those of queen Mary, for during eleven years, from 1607 to 1618, only sixteen Romish priests suffered as recusants, though the conduct of that body was notoriously disloyal. Fines, however, were enforced to the amount of more than 3,000*l.* annually. This was regarded as a useful and a fruitful source of revenue.

Considerable attention was excited by the archbishop of Spalatro, who came to England in 1615, where he became a Protestant; but after some years he returned to the church of Rome. The king was not inactive in endeavours to advance his views of religion, especially desiring to enforce uniformity among his subjects, and in many respects adopting the principles of Popery while he spoke against it, declaring his eager desire for the downfall of the pope. This was especially manifested when, in the year 1618, king James caused a declaration, called the Book of Sports, from its subject, "concerning lawful sports to be used on Sundays after Divine service," to be published by order from the bishops, by being read in all the parish churches of their respective dioceses. This opened a floodgate to all manner of licentiousness among the populace, and became the means of unspeakable oppression to a great number of worthy clergymen. The ruling prelates, by the king's command, required the clergy to read the declaration publicly before their congregations; those clergy who refused felt the iron rod of oppression and privation. It struck the sober part of the nation with horror, to hear themselves invited by the authority of the king and the church to that which seemed so contrary to the command of God. It was certainly most inconsistent for those in au-

thority, who should support and encourage religion, to draw men off from the practice of it, by inviting them to public sports and pastimes upon the day which God has expressly commanded mankind to remember to keep holy. Such were the piety and wisdom of those times ! The court had their balls, masquerades, and plays on the Sunday evenings, whilst the country people were at their revels, morrice dances, May games, church ales, and all kinds of licentious diversions.

The well-known and pious Baxter thus describes the public service of the church and the amusements that followed :—" In the village where I lived, the reader read the common prayer briefly ; and the rest of the day, even till dark night almost, except eating time, was spent in dancing under a May pole and a great tree, not far from my father's door, where all the town did meet together : and though one of my father's own tenants was the piper, he could not restrain him, nor break the sport ; so that we could not read the Scripture in our family without the great disturbance of the tabor and pipe, and noise in the street." But the opinions and commands of men cannot abrogate the laws of God, whose word declares, " If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable ; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride on the high places of the earth," Isa. lviii. 1.

" Every thought should be directed  
Heav'nward through this sacred day ;  
Worldly themes should be rejected,  
Themes that draw the soul away.  
'Tis the day of sacred rest,  
'Tis the day the Lord hath blest."

The following account of the feelings of one then



living, named Conder, has been recorded for the instruction of other generations. "When a young man, I was greatly addicted to football playing; and in our parish and many others, the young men as soon as church was over, went to play. Our minister often remonstrated against our breaking the sabbath, which had but little effect, only my conscience checked me at times. Thus I went on sinning and repenting a long time, but had no resolution to break off, till one sabbath morning our good minister acquainted his hearers that he was very sorry to tell them that, by order of the king and his council, he must read the following paper, or relinquish his living. This was the Book of Sports, forbidding the ministers, churchwardens, or any others, to molest or discourage the youth in what were called their manly recreations, on the Lord's day. While our minister was reading, I was seized with a chill and horror not to be described. Now, thought I, iniquity is established by a law! What sore judgments are to be expected upon so wicked and guilty a nation! What shall I do? How shall I escape the wrath to come? And thus God convinced me that it was time for me to be in earnest about salvation. And from that time, I never had the least inclination to join my vain companions any more; so that I date my conversion from that time, and adore the grace of God in making that an ordinance for my salvation, which the devil and wicked governors laid as a trap for my destruction."

Thus the Lord preserves a remnant to himself in the darkest times, and can use means which appear the most unlikely to accomplish his own all-wise and gracious purposes. But what shall be said of those who pervert the influence and authority committed to them by God for the welfare of all under their rule, to lead them to rebel against Him? Alas! how often are the children of this world wiser and more active in their generation than the children of light!

In 1617, James sought to bring Scotland nearer to uniformity with England in matters of religion, and, in a speech to his Scottish parliament, reproached his countrymen for having already learned of the English to drink healths, wear watches and gay clothes, speak a mongrel dialect, and take tobacco, which last practice he especially abhorred. He urged them to reduce their barbarity to the sweet civility of their neighbours, and, notwithstanding much opposition, introduced some changes which established episcopacy among them.

It has been already mentioned that sir Walter Raleigh was detained prisoner in the Tower, after he was found guilty of treason. He employed himself chiefly in literary pursuits, and wrote a History of the World, long and deservedly esteemed; but, of course, superseded by later works. He was too obnoxious to the king and his counsellors for them to allow him to be set at liberty; nor did his property escape their rapacity. One estate, the castle and manor of Sherborne, he had, during the late reign, conveyed to his son; but a word had been omitted in the deed through carelessness, and the chief justice Popham declared the transfer invalid, so that this also was forfeited to the king. Somerset, when in power, availed himself of the incidental defect, and James gave the property to his favourite. Lady Raleigh knelt before the king with her family, entreating that they might not be reduced to beggary; but the only answer she could get from James was, "I mun ha' the land; I mun ha' it for Carr." The act was so grossly oppressive, that a sum of 8,000*l.*, about a third of the value of the land, was paid to the family. This and his long imprisonment, excited much compassion for Raleigh. Prince Henry did not scruple to say, that no king but his father would keep such a bird in a cage.

One cause for the detention of Raleigh was the influence of the Spanish ambassador. At the time of

the late queen's decease, Spain was humbled before the English power, and it was found much more effectual and advantageous to obtain an influence over the weakness of James, by playing upon his hopes and fears, and bribing his ministers, than by attempting to excite rebellion, or waging active warfare. The great inducement held out to James, was a marriage between his son and a Spanish princess. He disregarded the fact, that such an alliance was objectionable to the English on every ground, whether of religion or state policy. James was dazzled by the hope of connecting his family with one whom he regarded as possessing true regal power ; and allowed Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, to exercise an influence over his counsels most injurious to the welfare of England : being consulted on many public measures, he gave advice to promote the wishes of his master.

After the fall of Carr, Raleigh obtained his liberty ; he then formed a project to repair his ruined fortunes, well calculated to obtain the support of James, in the embarrassed state of his finances. This was an expedition to Guiana, where Raleigh had nominally taken possession of a large tract of country in 1595, and was led to suppose that a gold mine existed there. He now proposed to form a settlement, and work the mine. James was very anxious to obtain the wealth such a plan seemed to promise ; but he was still more fearful of offending the Spanish monarch, who had begun also to establish settlers in the same country, and would not be pleased to have an English colony so near. The project of Raleigh was so strongly advocated by many of the nobility, that the king gave consent ; but, at the same time, caused, or allowed Gondomar to be informed of the scheme, so that the Spanish government was prepared to resist the arrival of the adventurers as a set of robbers and pirates, though Raleigh's first expedition had preceded the arrival of the Spaniards, who had nothing to support their claims but an absurd grant by the pope to the

crown of Spain, including all the territories beyond a certain degree of longitude.

The king gave his consent: in 1616, Raleigh sailed with several ships fitted out chiefly at his own expense, absorbing the whole remainder of his shattered fortunes, with much of the property of his friends. After a voyage of four months, attended with many disastrous circumstances, Raleigh arrived at the mouth of the river Oronoco.

Being disabled by sickness, he sent his son and their principal followers up the river to the spot where he considered the gold mine was, ordering them not to molest any Spanish settlers. But in the night, the English were attacked by these Spaniards, and repulsed them; this led to the destruction of the Spanish town, which would not otherwise have been assaulted. The settlers were numerous, and well prepared; at last the English were forced to return to Raleigh, whose son was killed in the action. Thus weakened and repulsed, the expedition was abandoned, and Raleigh returned to England. But before his arrival, Gondomar complained to James of Raleigh's conduct, with threats of hostilities from the king of Spain, if immediate satisfaction were not given. James was alarmed, and in very abject terms disavowed Raleigh's proceedings, promising that he should be punished in England or Spain, as that monarch might please! Some of the nobility in vain pleaded against such a disgraceful course. On his return to England, Raleigh hastened towards London, confident that he could justify his proceedings; but on learning that a proclamation against him had been issued, he first feigned sickness, and then allowed himself to be induced by the emissaries of the government to make an attempt to escape to France. This was frustrated; sir Walter was lodged in the Tower, with the additional charge of having formed some design with an agent of the French king.

After full investigation, the crown lawyers gave

their opinion that the attack on St. Thomas afforded no grounds for a criminal charge against Raleigh, and no other plausible pretext offering, it was resolved to proceed on the sentence passed against him fifteen years before. Though he had been virtually considered as pardoned, and the granting him subsequently a royal commission, confirmed such a pardon, still the legal condemnation was not wholly removed. Gondomar required his life, and orders were given for his execution. In his last days, Raleigh showed much courage and firmness, and professed that this confidence was founded on religious principles. He was beheaded upon Tower Hill, on October 29, 1618 : an eye witness declared, that no man ever showed more decorum, courage, or piety, so that his death would do more harm to the faction that caused it, than his life could have done. In truth, the execution of Raleigh was strongly remarked upon. It was plain that James had sacrificed one of his most able and valuable subjects to the demands of Spain, and its jealousy of any interference with the vast regions of America ; his conduct was contrasted with what Elizabeth would have done under the like circumstances. An English judge did not hesitate to declare, that the justice of England was never so degraded and imposed on, as by the condemnation of sir Walter Raleigh.

There is little worthy of notice in the course of events in England at this period. The necessities and rapacity of the government caused the king to be in continual want of money ; bribery and corruption were notorious, both in public and private cases. In March, 1619, the queen died. Little need be said of her, except that her interference in matters of government, with her love of expensive pleasures, contributed to the progress of evil that had already commenced its course. Her character was not without blemish ; though her proceedings were encouraged by the course of life pursued by James, this was no suffi-

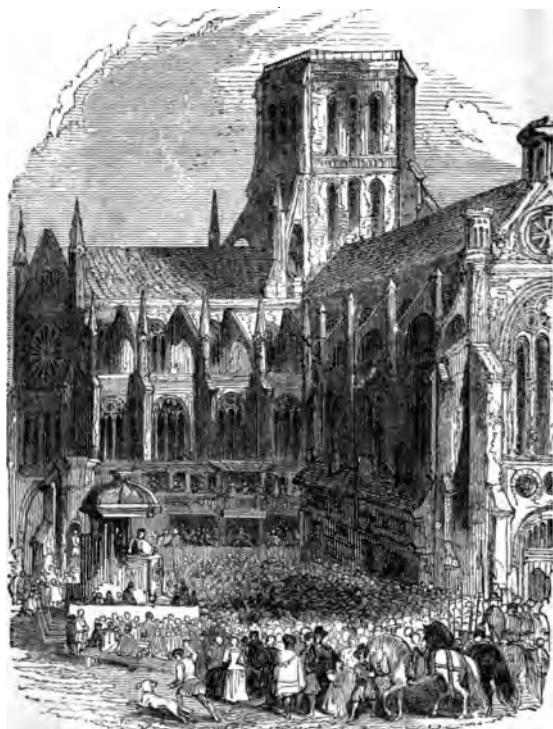
cient excuse ; in the highest, as well as the lowest ranks of life, every one must answer for their own conduct. But the death of the queen gave an increase of power to the duke of Buckingham.

On Sunday, March 26, 1620, king James came with great state, attended by his court, to hear the sermon preached at Paul's Cross, and to consult about rebuilding the cathedral. The preacher was Dr. King, the bishop of London, from Psa. cii. 13, 14. His sermon is a specimen of the singular style of preaching then often adopted and approved by the pedantic monarch. He said, "I am now to speak to you of a literal and artificial Sion, a temple without life, yet of a sickly and crazy constitution, sicke of age itself, and with many aches in his joints, together with a lingering consumption, that hath long been in her bowels ; the timber in the beams whereof perish, and the stones in the walls answer no less, and part is already moultered away to stone, part to dust."

This appears to have been the only attendance of king James at the cross, and the last sermon of note preached there : it is represented in the engraving on the next page, from an old print showing the cross and cathedral as they then appeared.

James had now governed for nearly seven years without a parliament, meeting his pecuniary difficulties by various expedients. He had received 250,000*l.* from the united states of Holland, in full for about double that sum remaining due of the amount lent them by queen Elizabeth ; but as the expense of keeping English garrisons in the towns held by way of security was thereby done away, the bargain was not considered a bad one. A more objectionable proceeding was the sale of large portions of the crown lands ; in a few years, this measure produced not less than 800,000*l.*

In addition to other circumstances which caused the want of money, were hostilities in Germany that involved the elector palatine, who was son-in-law to



PREACHING AT PAUL'S CROSS.

the British monarch. The states of Bohemia finding that their privileges, as Protestants, were violated by the emperor of Austria, whom they had chosen for their king, set aside that election, and chose the elector Palatine for their monarch. The German princes who held the Popish religion, united to oppose the elector, and invaded his own especial territory, the palatinate. The contest was a war of religious opinion ; for a time the Papists prevailed, and the elector was driven from his country. The subjects of James, and the other Protestant states, called on the king of England to support his son-in-law by arms ; but as he was then negotiating a marriage for prince Charles with the Spanish infanta, it was necessary for him to avoid open collision with the Papists. And though he objected to the plans of the Popish confederates in seizing the patrimonial territories of the elector, his views of kingly power caused him to disapprove the conduct of the Bohemians, in transferring their allegiance under any circumstances, although that crown was elective. Moreover, want of money, and, especially, earnest desires for peace, assisted to keep James from taking any active, or decided part. He allowed himself to be deceived by the Spanish king's offer to mediate, and did not hesitate to tell the ambassador of that prince, that he would not in any way support his son-in-law. These fruitless negotiations cost him considerable sums, while they exposed him to the derision of all Europe, and the serious displeasure of a large part of his subjects.

The plea of sending aid to the palatine was used to raise money ; the sheriffs of the counties were ordered to collect "voluntary contributions," for forced requisitions were so called. Oliver St. John, a country gentleman, refused the application, stating reasons to show that this proceeding was illegal. For this he was summoned before the court of Star Chamber, and fined 5,000*l.*, a large sum in those days, in direct opposition to the law. A minister named Peacham,



being suspected as one who complained of these proceedings, his study was searched ; a sermon being found which expressed severe reflections on the king and his government, though it had never been preached, he was tortured to compel him to confess treasonable intentions, and being tried, was found guilty, but the rulers did not venture to put him to death.

Under these circumstances, the king was compelled again to assemble the parliament in January, 1621, and to require supplies, conceding several matters formerly refused. But the first step of the commons was to urge stricter measures against the Papists ; for their late successes on the continent had given considerable alarm. The next step was to inquire into grievances ; among other matters, the house of commons sentenced a country gentleman named Floyd to be pilloried, and to pay a fine of 1,000*l.* for having spoken jeeringly of the elector palatine and the princess. This was an illegal proceeding ; that house had no claim to act as a court of judicature, and the house of lords declared this, while the commons dropped the subject, which they had evidently taken up with warmth, to reprove the king's indifference towards his son-in-law, and the Protestant cause. Floyd afterwards suffered more severely. The house of lords, which is a court of judicature, fined him 5,000*l.* : he was publicly flogged, and imprisoned for life.

The inquiries into grievances disclosed many oppressive and unlawful proceedings ; the monopolies were the chief subjects of complaint ; two of the worst cases were selected, the licensing of inns, and the manufacture of gold and silver lace. The patentees, Mitchell and Mompesson, being impeached before the house of lords, heavy fines were inflicted. The imprisonment of some members of the last parliament was mentioned ; but the king promised that nothing of the kind should again take place. Dis-

putes also arose between the favourite and some of the peers. Further proceedings were stayed by an adjournment, at which the commons carried by acclamation a resolution to support the palatinate, as the cause of Christendom. Some popular and useful measures were adopted during the recess ; but these were forgotten in consequence of vexatious prosecutions against sir Edward Coke and sir Edwin Sandys, who had been active on the popular side during the late session of parliament.

The state of affairs, at this time, was thus described by the French ambassador :—" All murmur, all suffer ; the lords are contemned and little rewarded ; the nobility are taxed, and the people impoverished. Nor is it enough that all classes should be pressed down into such a condition ; but it is forbidden even to complain. If out of all this greater dissatisfaction among the great, revolt of the people, and bloody war do not arise, the reason does not lie in the lightness of the evil ; but in that this people are either more moderate, or less sensible to injury, or more timid than others. Beyond doubt, however, the imposthume must break, and that soon, as stimulants are constantly applied. In what manner this will take place, no one knows : perhaps it will occur by the Dutch bringing over the electress palatine of England, and providing the Puritans an honourable pretext for revolt, and a stimulus to their fervour."

When the two houses met again in November, the king pressed for a subsidy ; but a petition was agreed upon, pointing out the increasing power of the pope and the king of Spain, and strongly pleading against that alliance with the latter, which king James meditated, even urging him to declare war with Spain, and expressing the hope that the prince would marry a Protestant. Before this petition was presented, the king expressed his wrath at such an interference with his prerogative and favourite plans ; the commons replied in deprecatory terms, but claimed liberty of

speech as their ancient and undoubted right and inheritance, derived from their ancestors. James replied, rebuking them for meddling with things far above their reach, and declaring himself to be an old and experienced king, who needed not such lessons as they presumed to offer, stating his views, that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself. Thus the king and the commons proceeded on directly opposite grounds: the latter entered on their journals a strong protest in assertion of their privileges.

The king adopted a decided course : he terminated the dispute for the time, by dissolving the parliament on January 6, 1622: he then sent for the journals, and erased the protest, committing Pym, Coke, Phillips, and Mallory, four of the leading members, to separate prisons. As the protest was prepared with care by the most eminent legal authorities of that day, and is admitted to be a correct description of parliamentary privilege, it is important to insert it here. "The commons now assembled in parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning certain liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament; among others, not herein mentioned, do make this protestation following: That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, the state, and the defence of the realm, and of the church of England; and the making and maintenance of laws, and redress of mischief and grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of counsel and debate in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same. That the commons in parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of those mat-

ters in such orders as in their judgment shall seem fittest ; and that every such member of the said house hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, (other than by the censure of the house itself,) for or concerning any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the parliament, or parliament business ; and that if any of the said members be complained of, and questioned of any thing said or done in parliament, the same is to be shewed to the king, by the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

One of the important proceedings which marked the third parliament of the reign, was the impeachment of the lord chancellor Bacon. Among the public characters of this period, the two eminent lawyers, Coke and Bacon, were for many years rivals. Coke excelled in his legal knowledge, and was appointed lord chief justice, the duties of which office he discharged with uncompromising integrity. In 1616, he was brought into collision with the king, who sent to forbid the courts of law from proceeding in an action which called in question the king's power to grant a living to be held with a bishopric. The judges all remonstrated; but James stoutly maintained the prerogative which he asserted, and compelled them to beg pardon on their knees. Coke refused to submit, and was removed from his office some months afterwards, the judges being then liable to be displaced at the royal pleasure. This event, which took place in 1615, was mainly attributed to Buckingham : it was said that Coke might have been reinstated by a bribe, but he firmly declared that a judge ought neither to give nor take one. The same right principle was not observed by Bacon ; his abilities far surpassed those of his contemporaries, and his writings caused a new era in general learning and philosophy, the results of which have been most important throughout Europe ; while by taking the place of the vain and

foolish philosophy of the school divines, they have done much to dissipate the mental darkness which the Papacy had contrived to throw over general learning. Though the philosophy of Bacon is cold and deadening to the soul, unless life and vitality be infused from above, it is gratifying to reflect, that one of the most decided testimonies to the value of the holy Bible was written by Bacon himself ; he gave due place to Divine knowledge, as is shown in his treatise on the advancement of learning. The really learned man will never over estimate human learning, but will declare,

————— “ How charming is divine philosophy !  
Not harsh and crabbed as the fools suppose.”

Bacon obtained the highest legal honour ; but it was in a venal age, when bribery was practised in every rank and station. It was proved that he received presents through his servants, from suitors in chancery desirous to obtain decisions on their causes : this was not the less criminal because his predecessors had done the same, though intended rather to expedite decisions than to pervert equity. The fact being brought forward in parliament, he was impeached, fined 40,000*l.*, and condemned to imprisonment. The king remitted the penalties, and suffered him to retire into private life, where he reluctantly prosecuted his important studies. Bacon still sought to return to rank and power for which he had proved unfit, and would have forsaken those pursuits which alone have immortalized his name, and have caused his delinquencies to be almost forgotten ! This mistaken view proceeded from desire for rank and influence, rather than for the emoluments of office. Though venal, Bacon was not covetous ; he never was wealthy, and died poor. He is a splendid instance of the powers of the human mind ; but his history strongly shows that man, at his best estate is vanity—altogether nothing, when not directed by Divine grace.

Bacon is a striking exemplification of the sacred truth, that in "much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge, increaseth sorrow;" and that the excellency of knowledge is only this, that "wisdom giveth life to him that hath it," Eccles. vii. 12.

The king showed his determination to set at nought the parliamentary claims for privilege, by causing Coke, and several of the most active members, including the earls of Oxford and Southampton, to be imprisoned. For a time the government was wholly in the power of the court, under the rule of the imperious favourite, the duke of Buckingham, whose arbitrary views were strengthened by two prelates, who about this time came into power. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, united to his pastoral duties those of presiding as lord chancellor, under the title of keeper of the great seal. This was restoring one of the worst practices of the papal ages, the placing ecclesiastics in ruling offices of state.

Buckingham and Williams urged the promotion of Laud to the see of Exeter. Though Laud was a royal chaplain, the king objected, saying that he had disgraced himself, by marrying his former patron, lord Mountjoy, to an adulteress; and that he had been urged by Laud to break his word given to the Scots, and insist on their consenting to further ecclesiastical proceedings. But the king was obliged to yield to the importunity of his favourites, telling them, however, that they would repent of Laud's advancement; he truly anticipated the result of this promotion.

The power of these ecclesiastics was increased by the circumstances in which the primate, archbishop Abbot, was placed. In 1621, while shooting at a deer with a crossbow, the bolt glanced aside, and killed a gamekeeper. The homicide, though wholly accidental, disqualified Abbot from the public discharge of his functions. The monarch declined taking his goods thus forfeited to the crown; but Williams and Laud, refusing to be consecrated by one whose hands they

said were stained with blood, it was found desirable that his privileges should be formally restored by the king, which was done. Humbled, and deeply affected by the deed he had unwittingly committed, Abbot was unable to oppose, as before, the course pursued by the leading ecclesiastics, who induced the king to send orders, limiting the clergy as to their manner of preaching ; requiring them to refrain from subjects opposed to the views known as Arminian, then rapidly spreading among the clergy of the Establishment, widening the breach between them and the Puritans. These limitations immediately followed an order for relaxing the laws against the Papists, that rendered them still more unpopular, and had the effect ever to be expected in such cases, of restricting and excluding men zealous in discharging their spiritual duties, while the careless and worldly-minded at once consented to them.

Abbot had always decidedly opposed Popery, and all that savoured of it, or could be considered as facilitating its again assuming the ascendancy. He gave a strong proof of this when vice-chancellor of Oxford, on being consulted as to the erecting again a crucifix with popish ornaments on the cross in Cheapside. He wrote his reasons against so doing, and among other matters stated as follows : " It is very likely it (the crucifix) might at first be used historically, to put us in mind of Him that died for us ; and inasmuch as sensible and visible things do much affect us, this memorial might stir our devotion to remember Him by whose stripes we are healed. But, I think, I may boldly say, if it had never begun, the church had been freed of a great deal of superstition, which afterwards grew to little less than blasphemy. I remember in that college where I first lived, a young man was taken, praying and beating his breast before a crucifix in a window, which caused the master and fellows to put it down, and set up other glass ; which example makes me nothing doubt, but that the cross in



THE CROSS IN CHEAPSIDE.



Cheapside hath many in the twilight and morning early which do reverence before it." He then mentions one instance that had come to his knowledge. The result was a compromise ; the cross was re-edified in a plainer manner ; but in a few years the ecclesiastics who now came into power, did not scruple to bring back many of the ornaments, and much of the garniture of Popery into the churches, and to adopt additional ceremonials.

The vanity of James, with his high notions of kingly dignity, kept him steady to his desire for the Spanish alliance ; that court played with his eagerness, and sought, in return, to exact terms which should weaken the Protestant cause. Lord Digby, afterwards earl of Bristol, was charged with the negotiation ; his abilities were of no common order, and though he had no scruples against this highly objectionable alliance, he used his utmost efforts to effect this mission, on such terms as the English nation might not utterly reprobate. The obstacles were that England insisted on the restoration of the palatinate, which the Spanish king had joined in seizing ; while Philip required that the English Papists should be freed from all disabilities in matters of religion. The treaty, though long protracted, was advancing to a favourable conclusion, when it was terminated by one of those proceedings in which Divine Providence overrules the folly of man for beneficial ends.

The duke of Buckingham then ruled England ; but the declining health of the king threatened the continuance of his power, so that it was most important for him to secure the favour of prince Charles. This he sought by a variety of means, and considered that he should best succeed by personally undertaking the negotiation for the Spanish alliance, thereby gaining the credit for its favourable completion. The idea of Buckingham and the prince going to Madrid in person, occurred to the mind of the former. It suited his impetuous temper ; Charles adopted the plan, asking

his father's permission for the journey, in a private audience at which Buckingham alone was present. That degree of wisdom which the king certainly possessed, and his constitutional timidity, made him at once decidedly averse to the project, and he desired to consult the council. The duke and prince objected; but at a second interview, the king again hesitated, and called in sir Francis Cottington, to ask his opinion. They had intended taking him with them. Cottington was a faithful, experienced counsellor, well acquainted with Spain; he immediately said, that to have the prince at Madrid, would not fail to give the Spaniards an advantageous opportunity to raise their demands. The poor king then threw himself on his bed, exclaiming, that he knew it would be so, and that he should lose "baby Charles," upbraiding "Steenie" as the cause: these were undignified nicknames by which he usually called the prince and the duke. After another stormy discussion, during which Buckingham threatened Cottington, even in the king's presence, James was obliged to comply.

On February 11, 1623, the prince set out, accompanied by the duke, by Endymion Porter, an attendant of the court, and only one servant. They travelled through France on horseback as private individuals; on March 6, in the dusk of the evening, the duke entered the house of the English ambassador at Madrid, carrying his own portmanteau, and announced that the prince was in the street close by. Lord Digby had received intimation of this project, and though he highly disapproved it, endeavoured to make the best of what he could not prevent. At first, the romantic expedition pleased the Spanish nation; public rejoicings were made, while the people in general said that all difficulties ought to be removed, and the prince at once united to the object of his choice. But the cooler heads of count Olivarez, and other counsellors, saw the advantage they had

gained ; their demands rose ; stimulated by the Romish agents, they required still more favour and indulgence for Papists in England. The result was, that two more concessions were secretly made. These were, that the English monarch should do all in his power to have all the penal laws against English Papists repealed in three years, and that any children by the marriage were to be left in the care of their mother, consequently to be brought up in the Romish faith, till the age of twelve, instead of ten, as before agreed, thus leaving them exposed to superstition, at a period which would probably allow its chains to be riveted on their minds. The prince also received a cajoling letter from the pope, and in reply did not hesitate to assure his holiness, that he would earnestly endeavour to put an end to those divisions which prevailed among Christians. He well knew that this could only be done by turning all to the faith of Rome, which allows no toleration to any who are not its active servants, or passive slaves.

These delays, and the foolish actions of Buckingham, effectually destroyed the negotiations. The imperious, indecorous conduct of the favourite, who did not hesitate to give the lie direct to the Spanish prime minister, together with his unbounded influence over the prince, were most repugnant to the grave and stately habits of the Spaniards. Some of the counsellors did not scruple to say, they would as soon throw their princess into a well, as consent to her marriage with the English prince. Buckingham then determined to break off the match ; he prejudiced the prince against it, though Digby, knowing his sovereign's inclination, prevented an open breach. But the death of the pope caused a further delay, in order to obtain the consent of his successor ; this furnished a pretext for the prince to return to England, before the final completion of the affair. Buckingham also wished to be at home to stop the devices of his opponents.

On their return, a plausible pretext was immediately used for breaking off the match. The king of Spain was required, as a preliminary condition to procure the restoration of the elector palatine to his own dominions. Hitherto only his best endeavours after the marriage had been required. Philip perceived the intention, and gave the engagement required, thus throwing the blame on the English ruler ; for no other pretext occurring, the English ambassador was ordered to proceed no further in the treaty.

Doubtless this journey, with its result, had a bad effect on the character and future prospects of prince Charles. The plan was formed with secrecy, and even duplicity ; the negotiations were carried on in the spirit of deceit : on the one hand Philip evidently promised what he meant not to perform, while James engaged himself to measures which he dared not avow, and knew his subjects would not allow him to carry into execution. The prince made himself a party to this system of deception ; when, after their return, a parliament was called, in February, 1624, the duke of Buckingham made a false statement as to what had passed, prince Charles who stood by, did not hesitate to confirm it, while the Spanish envoy in vain asked the lords to allow him to answer these calumnies against his master. The modern Romish historian says, "Buckingham delivered a long and specious narrative of the proceedings with Spain. The prince, (so early was he initiated in the art of deception,) stood by him to aid his memory, and to vouch for his accuracy ; and the two secretaries attended to read a few garbled extracts from despatches, which tended to support his statement. The only man who could have exposed the fallacy, the earl of Bristol, was, by order of the council, confined to his house." Another, and more estimable source of information states, that "It is now well known that this relation was partial in most respects, and directly false in others ; nor have the advocates

of the character of Charles any mode of saving his sincerity, except by representing him, at the age of three and twenty, as incapable of judging with respect to things that he saw and heard !” The substance of the duke’s allegations were, that nothing had been done in the treaty at Madrid before his arrival ; that the Spaniards had acted treacherously from first to last, and that the prince had been unhandsomely treated by them. This was far from the truth, and though at the time these proceedings made the duke and the prince popular, they must have felt conscious that they deserved no such credit.

Buckingham had ventured to assemble the parliament on account of the absolute necessity for raising money, trusting that he had gained popularity from breaking off the Spanish alliance. The parliament listened to his statement, and voted 300,000*l.* to carry on a war with Spain ; an enterprise to recover the palatinate was also planned, but it failed. The earl of Bristol was recalled and sent to the Tower ; he was released in a short time, although not allowed to take his seat in the house of lords. Before he left Spain, Philip warned him of his danger in England, and invited him to remain where he was. Bristol nobly declined, stating his resolution to obey the call of his sovereign, whatever might be the result.

Buckingham did not hesitate to use his short-lived popularity, by urging forward proceedings in the house of commons against his opponents. One measure was to accuse Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, for misconduct and bribery in the office of lord treasurer. The king in vain endeavoured to protect his servant ; the most eminent official persons at that period, by their conduct, were justly exposed to such charges. Middlesex was impeached by the house of commons, though the king saw the evil of such transactions, and, in his vulgar phraseology, told the prince, that “ he would live to have his bellyfull of parliament-

ary impeachments." This course strengthened the power of the commons. The earl was fined 50,000*l.* and condemned to imprisonment in the Tower, from which the king caused him to be immediately released. At the present day, we cannot refer to the impeachments of this and the preceding parliament, without being surprised at the evils then accompanying the administration of justice. Bacon was only one among several other eminent judicial characters called to account for delinquencies and taking bribes. In some instances, these prosecutions arose from political or personal hostilities; but many unjust judges escaped. During the preceding century increased attention had been given to legal transactions; instead of appeals to arms by civil warfare, suits and prosecutions had often been resorted to as the most effectual means of humbling an adversary. The possibility of prevailing by bribery increased the evil, and tended much to fill up the measure of national iniquity, for such a course never will continue long unpunished. It is written, "If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they," Eccles. v. 8.

The king was anxious for the marriage of his son. A French princess was now selected, Henrietta Maria, sister to the reigning monarch, Louis XIII., whom Charles had seen when passing through Paris, on his late journey to Spain. Here, again, was a treaty of marriage with a Papist; and though the prince had lately made a solemn public declaration, that if he formed a union with any one professing that faith, she should have no liberty, except for herself and her own immediate attendants, yet a secret article was agreed to by the king and the prince, that all Papists lately imprisoned should be released; that the fines against them should be remitted, and the

private worship of the Romish faith allowed. The constant and unyielding efforts of popish monarchs to advance the cause of false religion, by their state treaties and alliances, strongly rebuke the indifference, almost invariably shown to these matters, by the chief rulers of Protestant nations. With this duplicity the treaty for the marriage was completed, to the great joy of the king ; but before the union could take place, James departed this life, on March 27, 1625, after a short illness of fourteen days. The disease was partly ague and partly gout, brought on by habits of self-indulgence and excess in food, rendered worse by his aversion to medicine. Towards the close some unskilful treatment took place, chiefly at the instance of Buckingham, which exposed him to the charge of hastening the king's death, and that even by poison ; but for this there is no real grounds. The imperious, wayward conduct of the favourite, sufficiently accounts for his proceedings.

Thus died king James I., leaving his successor in no enviable situation. Coming events of a disastrous character already cast their dark, lengthening shadows before ; the course pursued by James hastened them, though he was well acquainted with religious truth, and thoroughly decided in his adherence to peaceful measures. His disposition was naturally mild, and he had strong, though not lasting regard, for those whom he employed and esteemed. But these virtues, and they are not of small account, were clouded. High notions of kingly power and prerogative, with dislike to those who advocated the liberty of the subject, inclined him to favour Papists, and use harsh measures towards the Puritans ; while his religious knowledge was rather notional than practical, and certainly did not influence his conduct, for although nominally the chief Protestant monarch in Europe, he was always tampering with Popery, and making concessions to Rome. His habits were sensual ; he was strongly suspected of very

ross, though concealed vices ; but his frequent drunkenness and profanity of language were matters of notoriety. The inestimable national advantages from his adherence to peace were diminished by profligacy, and disregard to the public welfare, at home and abroad, with the vacillating conduct which marked his proceedings. Regard for those he favoured led to the disgusting system of favouritism in his court displayed, while his mildness did not prevent him from using severe and harsh measures towards all whom he considered opposed to his kingly authority. The actions of James I. give but too much countenance to the severe lines of a coarse tyrant :—

“ The pedant scholar, he forgot the prince,  
And having with some trifles stor'd his brain,  
Ne'er learned, or wished to learn, the arts to reign.  
Enough he knew to make him vain and proud,  
Mock'd by the wise, the wonder of the crowd,  
False friend, false son, false father, and false king,  
False wit, false statesman, and false every thing.”

For the account of this monarch may better be closed by the words of Scripture, applicable to others of his race, he “departed without being desired,” 2 Chron. xi. 20.





## CHARLES I.

REIGNED TWENTY-THREE YEARS AND TEN MONTHS.

*From the 25th of March, 1625, to the 30th of January, 1649.*

## PART I.

FROM A.D. 1625, TO A.D. 1640.

CHARLES I. succeeded his father as monarch of Great Britain, March 27, 1625, being then twenty-four years old. King James left no easy task to his successor; the crown was pressed with debts, in much need of pecuniary supplies which the parliament was unwilling to grant. The people, and the leaders in parliament, also desired the removal of abuses, with the confirmation of certain privileges which the late king was unwilling to bestow. His successor had not only been educated with the same high ideas of the royal prerogative; but possessed a firmness of temper, strengthened by the warmth natural to youth, which rendered him still more likely than his father to come into collision with his subjects, while his superior regard to moral character gave him increased influence.

There was not that change in the measures of government which is usual at the beginning of a new reign. The duke of Buckingham possessed the full confidence of the new monarch, and had still greater influence over him than over his father. The course of policy pursued was the same as in the late reign: to gratify the favourite, Charles burdened himself with a Spanish war, which all matters, both at home and abroad, rendered it desirable for him to avoid.

One of the earliest measures was to conclude the marriage of the king with the French princess, Hen-

rietta Maria. The union was solemnized at Paris, by proxy, early in May; but the new queen did not arrive in London till the middle of June, when public ceremonies were prevented by one of the plagues then frequent in the metropolis. More than forty thousand died of pestilence during the year in London, besides twenty thousand carried off by other diseases—a large proportion of the inhabitants.

The parliament assembled on June 18th, when the king called attention to his pecuniary wants; in addition to the debts of the late king, and the current expenses of the government, money was needed to carry on the war with Spain. But the opponents of the court in the house of commons had become a regular and active body, and were seriously alarmed respecting Popery; for, in addition to the increased danger arising from a marriage with a princess of that religion, many of the clergy most in favour, did not hesitate to avow tenets, and to countenance proceedings, in many respects opposed to those of the English Reformers of the preceding century, so as to be at variance with the literal statements of the Articles and Homilies of the English church; these, if followed out to their full results, led to Popery itself. This alarm evidently was the national feeling; it did not arise from a factious spirit, as probably some other proceedings did. The events of the last century in Europe, had caused a decided horror of Popery, wherever that faith was not the dominant religion. Those actuated only by worldly motives, saw its hostility to all improvement and freedom, whether mental or corporeal; those who knew the importance of true religion, regarded Popery as destructive to the soul; while both classes considered any probability of a return to Popery as a national evil. Under these feelings, one of the first steps of the house of commons was to petition the king to enforce the laws against the Popish recusants, and the seminarist missionaries secretly at work in England. Nothing

could be less welcome to Charles, who at his marriage had secretly engaged to tolerate those who professed Popery in his dominions. The commons then proceeded against Dr. Montague, who had avowed the doctrines already noticed, in a manner which they thought was a contempt of the house. As to money, only a small grant was made, wholly inadequate to the expense of the war entered into by the desire of the late parliament. The customs and duties on merchandize were only voted for a year, instead of for life ; this departure from the usual course was justly resented by the king. Although the commerce of England was at that time in its infancy, as appears by the annexed representation of the London custom house, the duties on exports and imports formed a considerable part of the royal revenue. About 200,000*l.* per annum were received from the whole kingdom, more than one half being collected in the port of London.

In July, the increase of the plague caused the parliament to be adjourned to Oxford, where angry debates ensued. The king was charged with dissimulation in having pardoned Romish priests, after promising to enforce the penal laws ; the parliament was charged with breaking the pledge given to support a war with Spain. Buckingham interfered, but brought down personal attacks on his own conduct, and the king dissolved the parliament to prevent the impeachment of his favourite. In the whole, sums amounting to half a million were granted ; one reason for not giving more, seems to have been an apprehension that the grants might be applied to assist the French king against his Protestant subjects. This feeling was much strengthened by the following occurrence. The king of France being engaged in hostilities with that important class of his people, required from England and Holland the aid promised by treaty. Seven English merchant vessels were pressed, and sent with a ship of war, under the com-

THE CUSTOM HOUSE IN THE TIME OF CHA... -



mand of admiral Pennington, to join the French fleet. The sailors understanding that they were to act against their fellow Protestants, refused to obey; they twice returned to England. At last the admiral was required to enforce obedience, and to give up the ships to the French. He executed his orders; but one vessel was brought back to England, and the crews of the others abandoned them, declaring they would rather be hanged than engage in such a service; the ships being left were employed by the French against Rochelle.

Charles carried on hostilities against Spain with the activity of youth, and the firmness which was his natural temperament. The increase of his expenditure thus incurred, made him more dependent on his parliament, and added to the probability of collision with the legislative body. He was not then aware how much he thereby endangered his power. The fitting out an expedition was hastened, while money was raised by loan, and on every pretext that could be resorted to. In October, a fleet and army sailed to attack Cadiz; but after an ineffectual attempt, the expedition returned in December, having lost many of the troops by disease. Buckingham proceeded to the continent to borrow money in Holland on the crown jewels, and to negotiate treaties with the United Provinces and Denmark, for assistance in recovering the Palatinate. But he was forbidden to go to Paris, where, notwithstanding the marriage, an unfriendly feeling towards England prevailed. The displeasure was increased by the proceedings of the French rulers towards their Protestant subjects, whom the English nation desired to support; and by the popular feeling having compelled the king to enforce more strictly the laws against the Romanists. He was the less averse to do this, on account of the annoying conduct of the priests and French attendants of the queen, who endeavoured to disgust her with England. Among other unseemly acts, they caused

her to walk to Tyburn, to honour, by such a penance, the memory of the Romish priests executed there as traitors. At length, the king was roused; acting with decision, in the year following the marriage, he sent away nearly the whole of the queen's attendants, and formed another household for her. The dismissal of her French servants made her very angry; in her first passion she broke the windows of her chamber, but in the event it tended to restore harmony; which being established, the queen soon acquired and exerted influence over the king. The conduct of those dismissed was ludicrous and disgraceful; they plundered the queen's wardrobe, and left her absolutely destitute of common clothing.

Sir Dudley Carleton was sent ambassador to France, with power to use a tone decisive and favourable to the Protestant interest. Richelieu gave way; peace with the French Protestants followed, and he promised to assist the war for the recovery of the Palatinate.

In February, 1626, the king was crowned, after which the second parliament of this reign met. Charles had contrived that some of Buckingham's most active opponents should be excluded, by nominating them for sheriffs, which rendered them ineligible for sitting in the house of commons. The prevalence of feelings adverse to the court was at once shown, by appointing committees for matters relative to religion, grievances, and the causes of and remedies for evils. The prevalence of Popery, with the secret advance of principles nearly allied thereto, engaged the attention of the first committee. Another attack was made upon Dr. Montague, who openly showed his desire to palliate the errors of Rome, and to admit the authority of that church. Laud entreated the king to interpose in his favour; but Charles declined to do so. The second committee pointed out sixteen abuses, particularly that of purveying or taking provisions for the royal household,

at fixed and unfair prices, within sixty miles of the court; and complained that the customs and duties were collected without the authority of parliament. The king urged the grant of a supply, the parliament demanded his promise to redress grievances; but the firmness and threats of Charles obtained the vote of a subsidy: in the interim, the house of commons resolved to impeach the duke of Buckingham.

A dispute with the house of lords followed. The king availed himself of the marriage of lord Maltravers without the royal licence, to imprison lord Arundel, father of that peer, and thus prevented his acting against Buckingham. The house of lords demanded his release, the king was forced to comply, also to allow the attendance in parliament of the earl of Bristol, who immediately exhibited articles of accusation against Buckingham, which were met by an attempt to silence him on a charge of high treason. The house of lords, however, resolved that each should be heard. The charges against Buckingham related to his conduct in regard to the Spanish match, which, it was alleged, failed from his moral and political misconduct. The charge against Bristol was founded on allegations respecting his conduct in the same matter, which were satisfactorily answered by him. Still heavier articles against Buckingham were exhibited in an impeachment from the commons, charging him with corruption, and other crimes. The king vainly attempted to stop the proceeding, by strong assertions of his prerogative, which the commons met by declarations of ancient, constant, and undoubted rights to question and complain of all persons dangerous to the commonwealth. Sir John Eliot was among the most active in this affair; he was committed to the Tower, the king's wrath being excited by a reflection upon him in relation to the last illness of his royal father, which there is every reason to consider unfounded. These proceedings induced the king to dissolve the parliament in great

haste, to prevent another petition against the favourite, and an answer to his reply to the charges; the king declaring, "Not for a minute," when the lords urged a few days' delay.

One charge which excited the popular indignation was, that the duke had caused the French king to be supplied with English ships, to act against the Protestants in France, then in arms against their king. In answer, Buckingham said, that he had been deceived, and thought it was the intention of the French to employ these ships against Genoa. But when writing from Paris, while there for the king's marriage, Buckingham had expressly stated, that the success of Louis against his Protestant subjects would depend on the ships furnished by England and Holland.

The dissolution of the parliament was followed by the imprisonment of the earls of Arundel and Bristol; it left increased irritation between the king and his subjects, and prevented the removal of his pecuniary difficulties, which now pressed the king so severely that he resorted to decisive and active measures. The duties of tonnage and poundage were still levied. Commissioners were appointed to increase the revenue from the crown lands, and to raise money by fines for long leases. The penalties on recusants, and on religious delinquents, were enforced. Persons of property were obliged to lend sums of money; the large amount of 120,000*l.* was required from the city of London. The seaports were required to provide and maintain, for a time, a certain number of armed vessels; the lord lieutenants of the counties were ordered to summon the people to be trained to arms. But an attempt was unsuccessful, which aimed to induce the people at large to pay the subsidies voted by the commons, though the act had not passed.

Another financial measure was called for by the success of the Romanist party, in Germany, against the elector palatine, whose affairs were now in a very



desperate state. Charles thought that the necessity for an effort in behalf of the Protestant cause, would induce the nation to furnish money with less reluctance; and a large amount was required as a loan, to be repaid from future parliamentary grants. Commissioners were appointed, who were directed to proceed with inquisitorial powers in case of opposition. Persons in middle and humble life, who resisted, were forced to serve in the army or navy, while several of higher rank were sent to distant prisons. Some of the latter continued their opposition, and sought to be set free by the legal process of habeas corpus, as they were imprisoned only by mandate from the king and council, without being charged with any offence. The right of the government to imprison at pleasure was largely discussed. *Magna Charta*, and subsequent laws founded thereon, were cited; instances, even in the last century, of persons thus imprisoned being released on claiming the protection of the writ of habeas corpus were quoted; but the judges decided in favour of the power of the crown, and refused the liberation of those who would not pay the loan. Further proceedings followed; the soldiers, lately returned from Cadiz, were quartered upon many who were reluctant to advance the money, and encouraged to commit even brutal outrages. All increased the unpopularity of the court party. Partly to remove that, and partly from the violent, though feeble conduct of Buckingham, a war with France was determined on, under pretence of aiding the Protestants in that kingdom. The latter were unwilling to engage in hostilities; but Buckingham led a fleet and army into France, and induced the inhabitants of Rochelle again to take up arms. He landed in the island of Rhé, but, after an unsuccessful siege of the principal fortress, was compelled to embark and leave the coast: being the last man to enter the boat, he preserved his reputation for personal cou-

rage, though his want of abilities in every other respect was apparent.

Another expedition was planned to remove this disgrace, and relieve the Protestants brought into collision with their monarch. A meeting of parliament therefore became absolutely necessary, in preparation for which some popular measures were resorted to. Archbishop Abbot was reinstated, and several who had been imprisoned were released. The primate had been suspended from the exercise of his office, for refusing to license a sermon in which the preacher taught that the loans required by the king were lawful. Without waiting for the parliament, another effort was made to raise contributions; but the opposition was so general, that it was relinquished. The contests at the elections were unusually severe; the general result was unfavourable to the court; when the parliament was opened, it was found to contain a large proportion of individuals of property and independence.

In March, 1628, the king, in his opening speech, used strong and doubtful expressions, but these were not resented: a large supply was voted, but the commons determined not finally to sanction the grant till they had procured redress of the evils then most pressing. With this view an important document, called "the Petition of Right," was brought forward, grounded on resolutions stating, that no freeman ought be imprisoned, unless a lawful cause was expressed; that the writ of habeas corpus ought, in no case, to be withheld; that if the return to that writ showed no cause sufficient to justify restraint, the party ought to be bailed, or set at liberty; that no sums of money could be demanded by the king, without consent by act of parliament. This document does not assert any claim which was not the law of the land, but the right of imprisonment, at the will of the sovereign, was too important for Charles, when raising money by the exercise of his prerogative,

to be relinquished without a struggle ; though he did not venture upon decided or open opposition. When the petition was presented, instead of the usual form, " Let it be law as is desired ;" he directed the following answer to be written under it : " The king willeth that right be done, according to the laws and customs of the realm ; and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong, or oppression, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself as well obliged as of his prerogative."

This equivocal consent excited much indignation among the popular party ; severe resolutions against Buckingham would have been passed ; but, by the king's order, the speaker adjourned the house. The next day, a request for a more explicit answer was agreed upon. The king, fearing for his favourite, took his seat upon the throne, ordered his former answer to be cut off, and the more usual form of " Let right be done as is desired," to be written on the petition. He then declared that he had done his part ; the fault would not be his if the parliament had not a happy conclusion. The consent was received with acclamations, and the bill for the money grant was passed. This struggle established an important distinction between this country and other nations of Europe, the prevention of arbitrary imprisonment.

It might have been expected that, after obtaining these important concessions, the leaders of the popular party would have rested content with what they had gained, at least for a time ; apparently they would have been wise to have done so, but, encouraged by the king's compliance, they determined to proceed still further. In a few days they presented a remonstrance, complaining of the evils that threatened religion, and the welfare of the nation : they urged the disgraces that had been incurred, attributing these results principally to the undue power

exercised by the duke of Buckingham. The popular party thought to enforce this remonstrance, by withholding the duties on customs, and prepared another petition to remind the king, that, by the petition of right, he was prevented from levying them; but before it was presented, they were required to attend in the house of lords, when the king asserted that the tonnage and poundage were not dependent upon their will, but that he was accountable to God only for his actions; then, declaring his assent to the tonnage and poundage, he prorogued the parliament. In this address he referred to the petition of right; but stated, that to the judges alone, under him, belonged the interpretation of the laws, and they had already told the king there would be cases of exception to it. This eventful session showed an important series of popular rights recognised by the crown; but it also showed that the procurers of this great boon were disposed to go much further. Here, then, was increased irritation between the king and his subjects. Another new feature of the times was exhibited. The king gained over two of his warm opponents, Savile and Wentworth, by the gifts of honours and office. The latter, who had been active in resistance to the court, was subsequently known as lord Strafford, and became very energetic in support of the royal proceedings.

The French king proceeded with activity against Rochelle: a fleet under the earl of Denbigh, sent to relieve the Protestants, returned without success; it was refitted, and Buckingham prepared to take the command: a private understanding having been entered into by the aid of the Venetian ambassador, that, on his appearing off Rochelle, a correspondence with Richelieu should be entered into, and a treaty of peace should follow.

Buckingham's unpopularity was at its height. A well-known dependent, Dr. Lamb, his physician, was murdered by the populace in a street of London;

placards were affixed to the walls, threatening his master with the same fate ; but the duke disregarded the threats, and proceeded to Portsmouth. While there, one morning, August 23, 1628, after a warm discussion with some of the leaders of the French Protestants, Buckingham was proceeding to his carriage, when he was stabbed to the heart, and instantly expired. In the confusion which followed, Felton, the assassin, was not perceived, till he drew the notice of the bystanders, and declared that he was the man. On examination, he stated that he had been wronged by the duke, by arrears of pay and promotion being withheld ; but that his motive to commit the murder was the desire to remove one so injurious to the country as Buckingham was declared by the house of commons to be. As no accomplices could be traced, the king recommended torture to obtain evidence ; but the judges declared such an infliction illegal—an important advance in the right administration of justice. The folly of such proceedings was shown by the prisoner, who, when threatened by the earl of Dorset, told that nobleman, that if tortured he should accuse him. The duke was buried privately for fear of popular outrage ; but no interruption was given to a splendid ceremonial the following day, which attended an empty coffin. Felton was brought to confess his guilt, and was executed, expressing sorrow for his delusion and wickedness.

Buckingham was only thirty-six years of age when murdered ; but in his short life he did much to bring forward the national evils which, at his death, were gathering heavily around. Deficient in abilities, rash, and self-willed, keeping away any real friend, or competent adviser, he urged on a course which at every turn placed the monarch in collision with his people. The hatred of the nation being excited, the king suffered from his favourite's unpopularity, while his own unbending temper induced him to support his minister against his subjects. The death of Buck-

ingham was a relief to Charles ; but he had other advisers like-minded, and who very soon became still more hateful.

The fleet sailed, but after ineffectual attempts to relieve Rochelle, it returned to Portsmouth. Another attempt was ordered ; but Rochelle surrendered in the interim, being reduced to the last distress by famine. This gave additional strength to the king of France, and was a severe blow to the Protestant cause of Europe ; while it reflected much disgrace upon the English rulers, who had first excited the French Protestants into conflict with their king, and then allowed them to fall. The serious part of the English nation deeply lamented this disaster.

The parliament met on January 20th, 1629. The commons again required attention to grievances ; in the first instance to those connected with religion. The execution of the laws against Popery evidently had been relaxed ; while the new spirit influenced the leading divines of the established church. Some of the clergy advocated from the pulpit, very strongly, the highest claims for kingly prerogative, and received marks of the royal favour. Bishop Laud was the most influential of this party. He had been favoured by Buckingham, and being appointed bishop of London in 1628, he became an active member of the council. After Buckingham's death, the king regarded him with still more favour, and listened to his counsels ; while Laud endeavoured to promote the favourite measures of the king.

It was evident that the leading clergy now differed much from the Reformers of the English church and their immediate successors. Their doctrinal views were in conformity to that system which is generally termed Arminian ; of which it is sufficient to say, that on the solemn subject of "How shall man be just with God ?" it takes different views of the natural state of man, and of his own powers to bring him into acceptance with God, than had been taught by

Cranmer, Ridley, and their successors, down to Abbot. Hereon the Reformers and their successors appealed directly to Scripture, where they found, among many equally strong and decisive declarations, "By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God," Eph. ii. 8.

Arminius and his followers, without opposing the authority of Scripture, took views which the descendants of the Reformers considered must prove favourable to Popery, if carried out. Laud and his followers, among whom Montague, Andrews, and Cosins, were especially active, laboured to effect three things, which placed them in opposition to their predecessors. They sought to diffuse the doctrines just mentioned; also to restore many matters of outward form and ceremonial used in the church of Rome, and laid aside by the Reformers: these they sought to restore, as having been practised by the primitive church, though they were unknown in the early and purest days of the Christian dispensation, and included matters of popish origin, and far later date. The third was supporting the high notions of prerogative assumed by the Stuarts. The Reformers and their successors had been undeviatingly loyal; they had, in many of their writings, maintained the authority of the monarch against the Papists, who never have scrupled to attack any ruling power opposed to their ecclesiastical usurpations, desiring to make the civil authorities and rulers bow to the mandates of the pope and court of Rome. But the present monarch openly advanced additional claims to authority, which the Laudian clergy advocated in the strongest terms, and in a way that showed their desire was not only to establish the royal authority over the people, but that of the church above the king. One testimony of this was, that in a new edition of the thirty-nine articles, a clause was again introduced, which had not appeared in the original copies, and only in a few of the subsequent editions, previous to this period; it

stated, "The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."

Sir John Eliot spoke at considerable length in the house of commons against innovations, and the introduction of new ceremonies, evidently referring to Laud in particular. The house of commons recorded upon their journals a "vow," in which they "claimed, professed, and avowed for truth, that some of the articles of religion, which were established in parliament in the thirteenth year of Elizabeth, which, by the public acts of the church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of that church, had been declared unto them, and that they rejected the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others, wherein they differed from." Another circumstance indicated the weakness and duplicity of the king. The royal printer had prepared fifteen hundred copies of the petition of right, with the last assent given by the king; this edition he was ordered to destroy, and to print another, with the first evasive answer, which the sovereign had found it needful to recall.

Disputes concerning the tonnage and poundage still continued, till Charles gave way, and admitted that they were held by him and preceding monarchs, as a gift from their subjects. Not content with this admission, the parliament required reparation for those who had suffered for refusing to pay. This was going beyond what was necessary; but the king went still further, by sending a message to the house, stating, that it was not his pleasure that any of his servants should be punished for acting according to his orders. The constitution of England assumes that the king can do no wrong, but makes his ministers responsible; here was a proceeding which would have done away with the letter of this assertion.

In February, 1629, charges were agreed upon more directly affecting Laud; but the king interposed by adjourning the house. On its re-assembling, Eliot



presented a remonstrance against the late proceedings relative to religion, and those respecting the customs and duties; he also denounced bishop Laud and the lord treasurer Weston. Finch, the speaker, refused to put the resolutions, stating he had the king's orders to the contrary, and endeavoured to adjourn the house by leaving the chair; but some of the members forcibly held him in his place; while Hollis read the resolutions, which were adopted. The king, hearing what was going forward, was preparing to have the doors forced, when the resolutions being passed, the members separated. On the 10th, the houses re-assembled, when the king dissolved the parliament, and justified his proceedings by a proclamation.

It is evident that both the king and the parliament had gone too far; but if the monarch had been supported by wise advisers, a more temperate course would have been pursued. Clarendon says, "It is not to be denied, that there were, in all those parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages and distempered speeches, of particular persons, not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty, and his councils. But I do not know any formal act, of either house, (for neither the remonstrance nor votes of the last day were such,) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts upon those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice, in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings."

Immediately after the dissolution, nine of the leading members were called before the council, and charged with disobedience to the royal message, ordering an immediate adjournment. They were sent to prison; among these were Hollis, Selden, and Eliot, whose apartments were searched for papers to

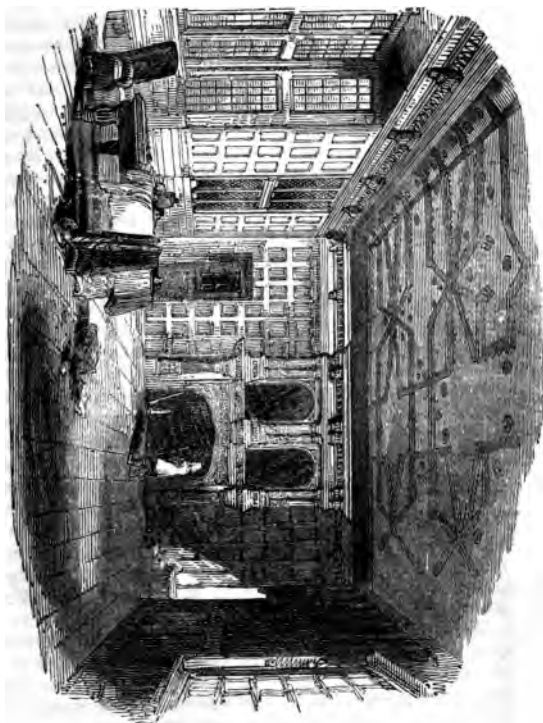
criminate them. After some legal proceedings, Eliot, Hollis, and another, were condemned to large fines, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure, on the charge that their conduct, though in parliament, was extra parliamentary, therefore under the cognizance of the courts of law. Eliot was the principal sufferer; he had, from the first, expected to be made a victim, and had conveyed his property to his sons. His health soon failed under imprisonment; this was notified to the king, and Eliot was persuaded to petition for his release; but his repeated petitions were rejected as not sufficiently humble, or not in proper form; he died in confinement, November, 1632. His death increased the public feeling against the monarch; while Eliot, by his sufferings, certainly advanced the cause he had at heart. But he claims notice, for the determined manner in which he opposed what he considered encroachments on the liberties of his countrymen. The heat of political discussion may have led him beyond his first design, and leaving this part of his character, he should be considered as a Christian visited by affliction. He thus writes in a letter to a friend: "Oh infinite mercy of our Master! dear friend, how it abounds to us that are unworthy of his service! How broken, how imperfect, how perverse and crooked are our ways in obedience to him! How exactly straight is the line of his providence to us, drawn out through all occurrences and particulars, to the whole length and measure of our time! How perfect is His hand, that has given his Son to us, and, with him, has promised to give us all things! What can we render? What retribution can we make worthy of so great a majesty, worthy such love and favour? We have nothing but ourselves, who are unworthy above all, and yet that, as all other things, is his. For us to offer up that, is but to give him of his own; and that in far worse condition than we, at first, received it; which yet, for infinite is his goodness, for the merits of his Son, He

is contented to accept. This, dear friend, must be the comfort of his children; and this happiness have his saints. The contemplation of this happiness has led me almost beyond the compass of a letter. But friends should communicate their joys; this, as the greatest, therefore, I could not but impart unto my friend."

Another case, which attracted much public notice, was the prosecution of Leighton, a Scottish divine. He had printed a book in Holland, entitled "Sion's Plea against Prelacy," in which he strongly censured episcopacy, and made rude allusions to the queen as a Papist. The book was only privately circulated in England; but he was brought before the court of star chamber in 1630, fined 1,000*l.*, degraded, publicly whipped, and pilloried, having one ear cut off, and one side of his nose slit; after a week's interval, these personal sufferings were repeated, the other ear was cut off, and the other side of his nose slit. His cheeks were also branded with the letters s.s., to signify sower of sedition. Laud was present when this sentence was passed, and testified his concurrence aloud, giving thanks to God! The cruel sentence was carried into effect with the utmost severity, but the sufferer endured with much patience; and the conduct of Laud and his supporters, on this occasion, made a deep impression on the public. His presence, as a judge in that arbitrary court, was not unfrequent, and the part he took there much increased his enemies. The apartment where the oppressive and unconstitutional court of Star Chamber sate, was known and pointed out till destroyed by fire a few years ago.

The king resolved to govern without a parliament, and maintained this resolution eleven years. One of his first measures was to diminish the expenditure of his government, by making peace with France and Spain, in which treaties, the great Protestant objects of the restoration of the palatinate, and the protection

THE STAR CHAMBER.



of the Huguenots, were virtually given up. The chief advisers of the crown were Laud, Strafford, and Weston.

The measures principally resorted to for raising money were the custom duties, which, in some cases, were increased; also a fine for every one who held land to the value of 40*l.* by the year, who had not presented himself at the coronation to receive knight-hood. The exaction was founded on an ancient and obsolete feudal usage. Another was the enforcement of the forest laws, chiefly by claiming large sums from all occupiers of land within what were anciently the forest boundaries. In some instances, these were extensive; Rockingham Forest had been reduced from a circuit of sixty miles to six. The fines were large; those levied on lord Salisbury amounted to 20,000*l.* The alarm, on this account, was very great; it was supposed that in many counties, the greater part of the landed estates were liable to the claim. Monopolies were revived, chiefly by charters to new companies; the selling a privilege of trade to one man being declared illegal. The first granted was an exclusive privilege to make soap, for which the sum of 10,000*l.* was paid, and eight pounds for every ton made of such a bad article as soap so privileged was sure to be. All cases of delinquencies were largely fined. Continual attempts were made to give the force of laws to the royal proclamations. Among many instances may be mentioned the fining a large number of gentry for residing in London instead of the country.

At this period, some hopes of the re-establishment of the elector palatine were revived by the successes of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, who was engaged to oppose the imperial armies. This champion of the Protestant cause was eminently successful; the extent and rapidity of his conquests reduced the imperial power; but after a most remarkable career of victory, during more than two years, he fell at the

battle of Lutzen, in November, 1632. The elector Frederic died soon afterwards; his son was not successful, the hopes of re-establishing that branch of the Stuart family wholly failed. Although the king of England did not take an open part in the wars of Gustavus, he caused the marquis of Hamilton to join his forces with a considerable body of English and Scots. Many of both nations also served in the Swedish army; the military skill of Gustavus was most eminent for enforcing strict discipline. This service trained many of the best officers of the parliament in the ensuing civil warfare. In the religious conduct of the king of Sweden, there was a very great and favourable contrast with the commanders of the imperial, or popish forces, who sanctioned, and even ordered, the most horrible atrocities to be committed on the inhabitants of the countries occupied by their army.

The next event of importance was the visit of king Charles to Scotland, where he was crowned in 1633; but the people were disgusted by some of the ceremonies, which savoured strongly of Popery. We are told, "Now it is remarked that there was a four-nooked tassel in manner of an altar, standing within the kirk, having thereupon two clasped books, called blind books, with two chandlers, and two wax candles, which were on light, and a basin wherein there was nothing. At the back of the altar (covered with tapestry) there was a rich tapestry, wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought; and as the bishops, who were in the service, passed by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee, and beck, which, with their habit, was noted, and bred great fear for the inbringing of Popery." Laud also gave much displeasure by taking a prominent part in these doings, while the king excited much discontent by ordering changes in religious ceremonies. But these proceedings were enforced in a manner which gave no less alarm than the measures themselves. When the law was proposed,

establishing the king's right to direct all ecclesiastical matters at his own will, Charles not only was present, but forbade all discussion, and himself proceeded to mark the votes. The greater number were against his wishes; but the clerk declared the contrary; this being questioned by the earl of Rothes, the king silenced him by a threat. The nobles were silent; but from that period, a great part of them, convinced that they could not trust their monarch, secretly consulted on the measures to be pursued. They were confirmed in this course, by a rumour that the king meant to take from them the church lands they had acquired by the downfall of Popery.

The determination of Charles to proceed in the course upon which he had entered, was shown immediately after his return from Scotland, by the appointment of Laud to succeed Abbot as archbishop of Canterbury. Laud has recorded, that on the same day he had the offer from an authorized party to be made a cardinal. He declined the latter, but evidently had not the reluctance which any ecclesiastic really attached to the Reformation would have felt. About this time, the king and his advisers gave cause for new suspicions of their sincerity, by sending an envoy to Rome as from the queen, and by allowing three accredited agents of the pope to reside in London, in succession, till 1640. The request for the cardinal's hat for Laud seems to have originated with the queen, whose priests were afterwards sent to the pope's nuncio, at Paris, where the latter spoke highly in praise of Laud, and of his willingness to show favour to the Papists. The following statement of the modern Romish historian of England, is important. He says that Panazani, the second of the three agents who was sent over secretly from Rome, in December, 1634, was received graciously by the queen, had a secret interview with the king, and was assured through secretary Windebank, that he might remain in safety. From his despatches, it appears that among the most

zealous churchmen, there were some who, alarmed at the increasing numbers, and persevering hostility of the Puritans, began to think of a re-union with the see of Rome, as the best safeguard for the church of England. Of this number were Windebank, Cottington, Goodman bishop of Gloucester, and Montagu bishop of Chichester. The latter conferred three times with the Italian on the subject, and assured him that the English clergy would not refuse to the pope a supremacy, purely spiritual, such as was admitted by the French Romanists; that among the prelates, three only, Morton of Durham, Davenant of Salisbury, and Hall of Exeter, would object; and that archbishop Laud, though too timid and too cautious to commit himself by an open avowal, was in reality desirous of such an union. He wrote that the universities, which formerly made use of the books of the Reformers, were then enjoined to study the ancient fathers and the councils, also that many of the preachers praised moderate papacy, owned Rome to be the mother church, extolled the beautifying and adorning churches, bowing at the name of Jesus, and other ceremonies.

In 1632, the reading of the Book of Sports was again commanded; it was done to discountenance the proceedings of two judges on the western circuit, who had given force to some measures for the better outward observance of the Lord's day. This respect was distasteful to Laud and the court, as savouring of Puritanism; but they forgot the especial blessings promised to nations and public bodies, as well as to individuals, who keep the sabbath; and surely their opposition led to increased profaneness, and added to the national guilt. It recalls to mind the description of Judah, given by the prophet, "She obeyed not the voice; she received not correction; she trusted not in the LORD; she drew not near to her God. Her princes within her are roaring lions; her judges are evening wolves.— Her prophets are light and



treacherous persons : her priests have polluted the sanctuary, they have done violence to the law. The just Lord is in the midst thereof ; he will not do iniquity : every morning doth he bring his judgment to light, he faileth not," Zeph. iii. 2—5.

Laud evidently was determined to put down all true and vital religion, if it savoured of what he regarded as Puritanism. The judges before mentioned were compelled to revoke their order at the next circuit ; while every bishop was directed to require that the Book of Sports, issued by king James, should be again read in all the churches. May's History of the Parliament of England states, that " this attempt to put down Puritanism by setting up irreligion, instead of producing the intended effect, may credibly be thought to have been one motive to a stricter observance of that day. Many men, who had before been loose and careless, began upon that occasion to enter into a more serious consideration of it, and were ashamed to be invited by the authority of churchmen, to that which themselves, at the best, could but have pardoned in themselves as a matter of infirmity."

In the visitation of his new diocese, Laud enforced an exact observance of outward regulations and ceremonials ; and did much to repair and beautify the churches, even causing the king to undertake to restore St. Paul's to its former splendour ; but every thing opposing his own doctrinal views was discountenanced, or as much as possible put down. Hindrances were thrown in the way of obtaining ordination by any who differed from him ; and in stopping the lectures in churches, he followed out the course he openly adopted early in 1633, when by the aid of the star chamber, he put an end to a trust, designed to devote large subscriptions to the purchase of livings, and the endowment of lectures in populous neighbourhoods, to be supplied by pious and active clergymen. These lectures were chiefly established in towns, and were very needful for the

instruction of the people, when a large part of the pastors were wholly incompetent to preach to their flocks. The amount raised for these purposes was declared forfeited to the crown, and the trustees threatened with personal punishment, if they attempted to carry on their praiseworthy design. From this fact, it is not difficult to suppose how Laud and his compeers would have regarded the efforts of Bible, Tract, and Missionary Societies, had he lived in the present day !

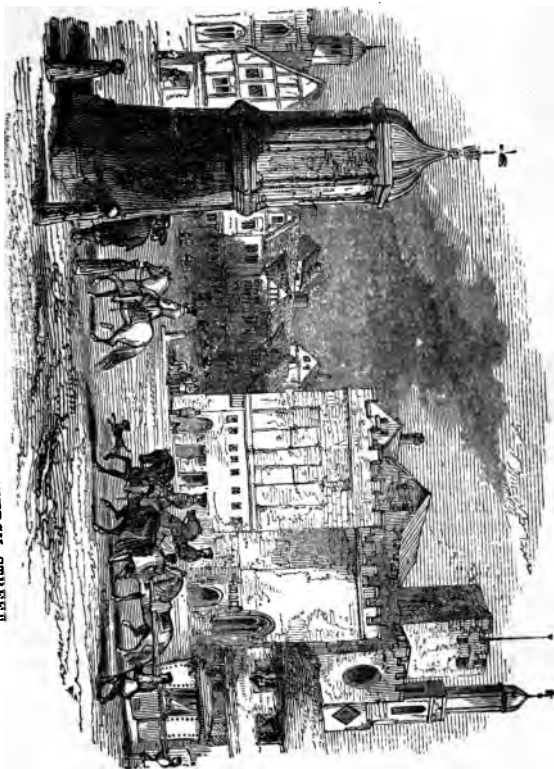
The care for repairing churches could not but please all reflecting minds, till they saw that the chief efforts were not to render the edifices commodious for increasing congregations, or more suitable for the celebration of Divine worship, so that all might unite therein ; but rather that especial facilities might be given for the more ceremonial celebration of what was called the sacrifice of the eucharist ; in fact, changing the reverend and due participation in the Lord's supper into the performance of a sacrificial memorial. The tables were removed to the east end of the churches, placed altar-wise, inclosed with rails, and raised on steps ; this was enforced so as to oppose and set aside a canon upon the subject then existing. In many cases, by litigation, and the removal of galleries, monuments, and other erections within the church, attempts were made farther to sanction the idea of a special manifestation of the Deity at one end of the building, forgetful of the scriptural declaration, "Howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands," Acts vii. 48. Serious offence was hereby given to many reflecting minds ; the more from the pains and penalties inflicted by the spiritual courts on all who resisted their proceedings ; and shortly after these courts were conducted in the name of the bishops, not of the king as heretofore. In the consecration of the church of St. Katherine Cree, in London, Laud carried still more fully into practice his love for ceremonials, to the alarm of many, and the disgust

of the nation in general, introducing several ceremonies directly opposed to what had been customary on the like occasions, since the Reformation. Pennant observes in reference to this consecration, that "Laud attempted innovations in the ceremonies of church, at a season he ought to have left them in the state he found them."

One of the churches repaired at considerable cost about this period, was that of St. Peter's, Cornhill, represented in the annexed engraving, of which church a tradition was current, and recorded on a tablet then placed therein, that the church was the first Christian edifice for worship erected in London, being originally founded on that spot, A.D. 179, by Lucius, said to have been the first Christian king in Britain. In itself the legendary story is of no value, but the reference to Lucius may be considered as forming a part of the chain of irrefragable evidence, which establishes undeniably the existence of a purer Christian faith in our land, before Augustine, on the sending of pope Gregory, had introduced the more corrupted form of Christianity prevalent in the sixth and seventh centuries.

There were other instances of the impolitic and violent proceedings of the ruling party. Prynne, a learned barrister, was tried in the star chamber; his offence was, that in a volume against stage plays he had used expressions relative to actresses, which some applied to the queen, though his work was published before a mask was acted in which she appeared as a performer. Laud excited the royal wrath against Prynne. The work was condemned as seditious; the author was fined 5,000*l.*, pilloried, and his ears cut off; while the societies of lawyers were induced to show their disagreement with their associate, by acting a masked pageant which cost 21,000*l.* This was in 1632, but in his imprisonment, Prynne wrote a tract still more violent, in which he reflected on the prelates: for this, by direction of Laud, he

CORNHILL, THE CORNER OF GRACECHURCH STREET.



was again tried with Bastwick and Burton, who had also written against prelacy. They were all condemned to the pillory, and loss of their ears. They were afterwards sent to Scilly, Guernsey, and Jersey, to be imprisoned, debarred from pen and ink, and not allowed to see any friends or relatives. Their sufferings were regarded as martyrdom. Prynne having already lost his ears, the executioner cut away the scraps of flesh that remained, so as to endanger his life. Laud openly took part in these proceedings; though he might have plainly seen that he was contending, not with a few enthusiastic, discontented spirits, but with the general feeling of the nation. He also pushed forward that terrible engine of oppression, the star chamber, into active contest with the press. An instance of his unforgiving anger was shown by the prosecution of bishop Williams, once his friend, but having counselled the king against these acts of severity on the plea of religion, he was prosecuted, and, after a suit which lasted many years, condemned in 1639 to be suspended from his office, and heavily fined; his crowning offence being that a letter addressed to him was found in his pocket, in which the writer spoke with disrespect of Laud.

Another case which was regarded as still more favourable to Popery, was that of Sherfield, the recorder of Salisbury. He had in various ways shown readiness to support the measures of the ruling party, but there were some pictorial representations decidedly idolatrous, in a church which he attended. It had been originally monastic, and a private chapel, till given to the parish during the last reign. Here was a window, having seven pictures of God the Father, as an aged man, in a coat of red and blue, engaged in creating the world, depicted with all the grossness and absurdity of the darkest ages, before which ignorant people were still repeatedly seen kneeling and worshipping as their fathers had

done in the days of Popery. Sherfield, with the consent of the vestry, at which six magistrates were present, offered to replace this window with plain glass; then being about to proceed to London, he broke the objectionable panes of glass, that the workmen might not mistake the window to be removed. Three years after, he was cited in the star chamber for breaking a church window. Laud aggravated the offence, and palliated the idolatry by referring to the passage, Dan. vii. 13, where the prophet speaks of the Ancient of days. Strafford supported the bishop; but the earl of Dorset, who also sat as judge, said the prosecutor ought to be punished, and not Sherfield. This obliged Laud to mitigate the fine he at first proposed, but Sherfield was sentenced to pay 500*l.*, while the first cost of the glass did not exceed forty shillings. A prebendary of Durham was fined and imprisoned for publicly censuring the dean for having placed a number of lighted candles on the communion table; two lecturers were imprisoned for preaching against crucifixes; and Laud did not hesitate to require bishop Hall to omit passages in an intended publication in which he spoke of the pope as Antichrist.

Laud was not contented with his solemn duties as chief ruler of the ecclesiastical establishment, and by filling what would now be called the place of prime minister; he entered into the details of office, and even took the place of one of the lords commissioners of the treasury on the death of the earl of Portland, who had been a decided opponent of his policy. His eager temper, and ignorance of business, caused him to be repeatedly imposed upon: after a time, he found himself unequal to its duties, and gave up the office in 1635, but prevailed upon the king to continue it in the hands of an ecclesiastic. Juxon, bishop of London, was appointed. Laud's own remark upon this occasion may be copied: it needs no comment. After entering the appointment, which

was made on the Lord's day, he adds : " No churchman had it since Henry the Seventh's time ; and now, if the church will not hold up themselves, under God, I can do no more."

Nor was this the only clerical appointment to a high temporal office. Archbishop Spottiswood was made lord chancellor of Scotland. Whatever may have been Laud's designs, his proceedings certainly showed not only zeal without knowledge, but also they tended to destroy the object he sought to obtain. The people could not but feel that " coming events cast their shadows before." There was very much that recalled to mind the days of Popery, while the iron hand of despotic power exercised by the church of Rome, with the sufferings of their martyred forefathers, were still fresh in the remembrance of the nation. Time had not effaced these recollections, nor could they then hear with indifference the contemptuous reflections frequently cast on the English reformers by the ruling ecclesiastics. From Laud's own correspondence with Strafford, it appears that he firmly resolved to pursue an unyielding course, believing that he should thereby establish those principles which he considered of vital importance. He thought severity must eventually succeed, and adopted as his resolution, " thorough and thorough," expressing his belief that a little more severity would cure " the itch for libellings." But his rigour only increased the number of his enemies. Added to the sufferers for conscience' sake, were many who were punished for irregular and vicious conduct ; for it is certainly to his credit that he spared no offenders for their rank, but all these were ready to act against him, and the cause he identified with himself. The court of high commission was that which chiefly carried on these prosecutions. It was a kind of national bishops' court, with larger powers than those of the dioceses, embracing the questions of religion and morality which had belonged to the jurisdiction of the

clergy in the middle ages. All the provincial bishops' courts could appeal to this superior tribunal, which was created at the commencement of the first parliament under Elizabeth. As the commissioners were selected in nearly equal numbers from the clergy and laity, their discussions were not always of an ecclesiastical character. They frequently infringed upon the laws of the country, and the house of commons now would have abolished this instrument of arbitrary rule, but the utmost accomplished, at that time, was to keep it occasionally in some sort of check ; but as Clarendon states, many scandalous and grievous proceedings were set on foot to raise money, countenanced by the star chamber and the council.

The most important impost levied by royal authority, was that called ship-money, which was the especial cause that placed Charles in collision with some of the most able and virtuous of his subjects. A naval force being required to carry into effect a secret treaty between England and Spain, Noy, the attorney-general, who, on being appointed to that office, had deserted the popular party, discovered that, on special emergencies, writs had sometimes been directed to the seaports and maritime counties, directing them to supply the crown with ships. Similar writs were now issued, and the demand extended to the inland counties. An unusual sum of 200,000*l.* was thus collected, which was applied to the purpose designed ; but it involved the principle of allowing the monarch to decide alone as to the extent of national danger, and also to provide at his sole pleasure the relief he thought needful. A decision in its favour was obtained from the judges. Hence lord Strafford argued, that as it was lawful for the king to impose a tax to equip the navy, it must be equally so to raise money for an army, which might be employed for aggression as well as for defence, adding, " This decision of the judges will, therefore, make the king absolute at home, and formidable abroad."



The collision between the crown and the subject in the case of ship-money, was brought on in 1637, by the refusal of John Hampden, a landowner in Buckinghamshire, and a friend of the late sir John Eliot, to pay the sum of 20*l*. This payment being required, he required to have its legality determined. The question was solemnly argued for eleven days, and precedents as early as the days of the Saxons were referred to. The leading argument against the impost, was the repeated declarations of statutes, and in the recent petitions of right, that no free man should be taxed without his own consent; that is, no subject should be required to pay taxes without the authority of parliament. At length the decision was given; seven judges were in favour of the crown, including Finch, the chief justice, who had been speaker in the last parliament. Only two, Crook and Hatton, spoke decisively against the claim of the crown; two decided against it in the case before them, but on minor grounds; one judge sent his opinion against it, written from his sick chamber. The public attention was fixed on this discussion, for it plainly involved the question—whether the government should continue a limited monarchy, or become absolute: in former times, the contest was between the king and the nobles; it was now between the crown and the people.

The partizans of the court rejoiced in the decision as a victory, but it was in fact a defeat; the arguments on which the judges had decided were now publicly known and duly appreciated. Thus every step in the course pursued by the king's advisers, even if successful, only strengthened the opposition accumulating against them. So blind were they to the probable consequences, that lord Wentworth wrote to Charles that it was the greatest service the lawyers had done the crown in his times. Some of the judges defended the attorney-general, who openly declared that the king of England was "an absolute monarch."

In Ireland, arbitrary measures were also pursued.

At the commencement of the war with Spain, the king feared an invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards, and raised an army for the defence of that island. To provide for these troops was difficult, but support was promised by several of the chief landed proprietors upon certain conditions, a part of which only related to the security of landed property, but some of them were considered by archbishop Usher, and other Protestant prelates, as promoting Popery. The king consented on receiving 120,000*l.*; but he found it advisable to evade the performance of his engagement, which, of course, excited much discontent; the natives and the Romish party having in several respects acted upon their expectations, without waiting for legal permission. They had even occupied some churches, and restored the performance of the mass. To enforce the royal authority, viscount Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, was appointed lord deputy in 1633. He proceeded upon the principle that Ireland was a conquered country, to be dealt with at the pleasure of the English monarch; he went thither, supported by Laud, fully resolved to carry out the claims advanced by Charles. His arbitrary views had already been shown when ruling the English counties in the north. A parliament was summoned at Dublin, every care being taken to secure the majority; Wentworth then announced that some of the promised concessions should be granted, but that others pressed so hard upon the royal prerogatives that the king could not allow them. The most material proceeding placed a large portion of the landed property of Ireland at the disposal of the king, setting aside the claims of the present possessors by legal measures, so as to compel the rightful owners to hold their estates by the sufferance of the crown. In some instances, juries were fined, and intimidated to give their verdicts according to the directions of the lord deputy. This displeased the laity, while both the clergy and laity were obliged to submit to new laws or canons,

doing away the independence of the Irish church. These points being carried, Strafford wrote: "Now I can say that the king is as absolute here, as any prince in the whole world can be." He believed that he should best support these measures by continuing the parliament; but the king ordered him to dissolve it, stating that his experience of parliaments showed "that they were of the nature of cats; they grow rusty with age." Wentworth then proceeded with other arbitrary measures affecting the security of the landed estates, and would have seized a large portion of Connaught to be disposed of by the crown. His temper was violent, and his whole conduct rendered him very unpopular; he even caused lord Mountnorris to be sentenced to death by a court martial, for a casual expression. The unpopularity of the lord deputy induced him to visit England in 1636, when he defended his proceedings before the council, received the royal sanction, and returned to his government, where a general conspiracy among the Papists was already secretly organized.

In Scotland affairs were hastened to a crisis sooner than in England, or Ireland. Strong efforts had been made to intimidate and subdue all who opposed the royal prerogative; but the people were not brought to submit. The first matter on which the royal advisers came into collision with the people, was of a nature most warmly to excite the popular feeling. It was the enforcement of a new system of ecclesiastical laws, and new forms for public worship, very different from what their forefathers had with so much difficulty succeeded in establishing. The English Liturgy, with some additions and variations leaning towards Popery, was to be brought into general use. The new laws were promulgated some time before the new service; the first reading of the latter at the high church in Edinburgh, was followed by a popular outbreak, in which the females took a prominent part. One Janet Geddes threw a stool at the head of the

dean, who was reader; another was aimed at the bishop; nor could the service proceed till a large part of the congregation, who joined in these disgracefully riotous proceedings, had been forced to leave the church. On his departure, the bishop was rolled in the mire, and the outrages were only repressed by force. This was in July, 1637.

The king's ministers in Scotland, well knew the deep-rooted feelings of their countrymen on matters of religion; they were unwilling to press forward, but the king was unmoved, the unpopular measures were enforced, farther riots ensued. The opponents were, at length, allowed to state their objections; they arranged a plan, for obtaining the general opinion by committees of representatives, chosen by four classes, the nobility, the landed gentry, the clergy, and the burghers, from whom one of each was appointed to form a fifth board. These representative bodies were called tables: they demanded that the obnoxious proceedings should be relinquished. After some weeks, the tables were declared unlawful; but the members refused to obey. A public engagement was proposed, which is generally known as "the solemn league and covenant;" this was promulgated with the observance of a solemn fast, on March 1, 1638. The king, by the advice of some whom he consulted in Scottish affairs, determined to do away with the covenant by force; but preparatory to this the marquis of Hamilton was sent to negotiate: he was authorized to give up the canons and service book, the high commission court, and some other matters; but the new covenant was required to be laid aside. The king had not consulted his English council, till the attempt of the marquis of Hamilton failed. Laud then urged pacific measures for a time, but the majority of the council adopted the views of the king. Some months earlier, the king's concessions would have been thankfully accepted, but it was evident they were only extorted by opposition,

1

and the monarch's insincerity was now generally known. In this case, some of his counsellors informed the leaders of the covenanters, that the king only designed to lull them into a false security, till his preparations for enforcing compliance were completed. In England also, many who opposed the regal proceedings encouraged the Scots to refuse compliance.

The king ordered an assembly of the kirk to meet in November, 1638; he expected some events might justify his forcible interference. The commissioners finding the determined opposition of the members, acted according to his instructions, and dissolved the assembly; but they refused to disperse, condemned the sovereign's conduct, and abolished episcopacy. The nation united in public thanksgiving for deliverance, but the king, of course, looked upon these transactions as null and void. He was now preparing forces; the covenanters did the same, availing themselves of the services of Lealie, who had risen to be a field marshal abroad in the service of Gustavus, but had lately retired to his native land with considerable property. Many officers who had been in the same service hastened to Scotland; arms and ammunition were procured from Holland; one hundred thousand crowns were sent from France by cardinal Richelieu, whose policy led him to oppose the wishes of the English king. This pecuniary aid was kept secret, for many would have refused help from such a polluted source; it was evidently given only with the worst intentions, but the leaders received it, showing how far men may blindly proceed. These open measures against the king, and seeking aid from foreign powers, must be regarded as preliminaries of the general hostilities that speedily followed, and involved the three kingdoms in civil warfare, extending to consequences the original promoters on both sides had not foreseen.

The king, on the other hand, negotiated for the

assistance of Spanish troops; but they could not be spared, though he offered to allow the king of Spain to raise men every year in Ireland for his own army, in return. And the general tendency of the king's councils and counsellors was evident. A royalist thus wrote, in March, 1639: "The news is that Lambeth House (Laud) bears all the sway at Whitehall; and the lord deputy (Strafford) kings it notably in Ireland; some that love them best could wish them a little more moderation." The trained bands of several counties were mustered; the peers, each with his retinue, were ordered to join the king at York; the clergy and lawyers were called to give money in lieu of personal service; the queen used her influence with the leading Papists, to obtain contributions in return for the indulgences recently granted to them; but the greater part of the nation were indifferent, and even averse to the king's proceedings, though, to obtain popularity, he abolished thirty-one of the monopolies granted by the crown.

The Scottish covenanters answered the royal proclamations which declared them rebels, by protestations of their loyalty, adding that they only resisted encroachments on their religious liberties. Hostile results were now unavoidable. The covenanters occupied the castle of Edinburgh and other strong places; having seized Dumbarton on the sabbath, notwithstanding their strict observance of that day. The supporters of Charles in Scotland, were unsuccessful in making head against their countrymen; but the king advanced from York with his army, while the Scots prepared to meet him. Leslie had twenty thousand men, earnest in their cause, well disciplined, strict in their religious services, a number of them devout in their feelings. The motto on their banners was "For Christ's crown and the covenant." This was in May, 1639.

Many gentry attended the rendezvous at York, but they were attended by servants and other followers,

rather than disciplined soldiers ; while the numerous clergy who resorted to the court and camp, gave occasion for a popular feeling, that this was a war chiefly for enforcing ecclesiastical proceedings.

The royal forces were the most in number, but a large proportion disapproved of the monarch's plans, and cared not to enforce them. The first time the advanced troops came in sight of each other, the English retired, and Leslie prepared to attack the main body. The king was alarmed ; by the agency of a page the possibility of an agreement was suggested, and commissioners were sent from the Scottish camp. Charles consented to refer all matters of religion to a general assembly, and the civil matters to the parliament ; his promises were not considered full and satisfactory, but many of the covenanters were unwilling to engage in actual hostilities. The leaders consented to a pacification, the forces on both sides retired, and were disbanded, the strongholds were restored to the king, but it was evident that no real peace was likely to follow ; both parties only proposed to strengthen themselves for renewing the struggle.

The earl of Traquhair was appointed to represent the king as commissioner in Scotland, to preside in the general assembly, and in the parliament. He was unable to carry the measures the king wished, Charles then consented to tolerate the doing away of bishops, and other matters, hoping afterwards to revoke these concessions ; he had written privately to the Scottish bishops, assuring them that he would endeavour to establish their church and make up for their losses. The Scottish parliament openly showed a desire to lower the royal authority ; this was met by a prorogation, and another effort to carry measures by force was resolved upon ; secret information of which was given to those in Scotland who could be trusted. This determination came from the king, supported by Wentworth and Hamilton. Laud al-

lowed himself to be silenced, but did not support hostile proceedings. In order to procure funds, ship-money was again levied, to the amount of 200,000*l.*, and the council, on Wentworth's suggestion, advised the king to call a parliament, promising to support his other plans if that assembly again "proved untoward." For although the lord treasurer had reduced matters in his department to some order, yet there was not money enough to defray the expense of the military proceedings.

Wentworth, now created earl of Strafford and lord lieutenant of Ireland, returned from England with orders to raise eight thousand men to serve against Scotland, while in England every effort was used to make warlike preparations.

The English parliament did not meet till April, 1640. The people in general rejoiced at this event, hoping for a redress of grievances, while it was viewed as an important advantage by those who were bent on opposing Charles. On opening the session, the king called for a large pecuniary supply to promote his cause against Scotland, showing an intercepted letter in which some of the leading covenanters sought assistance from France. The commons, however, went first to the subject of grievances, dividing them into three classes. 1. Those respecting religion, with the increase and enforcement of ecclesiastical authority; 2. Those connected with raising money by royal authority without parliament, such as ship-money, forest claims, monopolies, and other methods for levying contributions; 3. The breaches of parliamentary privilege, by the speaker's adjourning the house at the king's mandate, and the calling members before courts of law for their conduct in the house.

The king sought to allay these angry feelings; the lords were induced to press the commons to consider respecting the grant of a supply before any other question, urging the necessity for immediate aid.



This caused a dispute between the two houses, the commons resenting the interference of the lords in pecuniary matters, which always originated in the lower house. The king interposed, by requiring an answer from the commons, whether they would consider the question of a supply. While debating this subject, a message was sent by the king, stating, that if in three years twelve subsidies were granted, (equal to above 800,000*l.*.) he would assent to the ship-money being abolished. The debate continued, and the result was uncertain; when the secretary, sir Henry Vane, told the house that the king would not be satisfied with less than twelve subsidies; and stated to the council his decided opinion that the house would not grant any aid for the war with Scotland; whereupon the king proceeded on the day following, May the 5th, to the house of lords, and dissolved the parliament. The conduct of Vane has been severely reflected upon, it has subjected him to the charge of treachery. The king's measure was hasty and unhappy, it was made still worse by the imprisonment of sir John Hotham, and some other members, on warrants signed by Laud, Strafford, and others of the council. Clarendon says, "There could not a greater damp have seized upon the spirits of the whole nation, than this dissolution caused, and men had much of the misery in view, which shortly after fell out. It could never be hoped that more sober and dispassionate men would ever meet together in that place, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them; nor could any imagine what offence they had given, which put the king upon that resolution. But it was observed, that in the countenances of those who had most opposed all that was desired by his majesty, there was a marvellous serenity; nor could they conceal the joy of their hearts; for they knew enough of what was to come, to conclude that the king would be shortly compelled to call another parliament, and they were as sure that so many un-

biased men would never be elected again." Saint John told Clarendon all was well, for it must be worse before it was better.

The Scots were emboldened by the belief that a large part of the English nation were with them; while those who had by this time determined, if possible, to do away with the royal authority in England, were encouraged by the prospect of further and more embittered hostilities between the king and a part of his subjects. The popular excitement was plainly shown; tumultuous proceedings in London were directed against Laud and Strafford, particularly the former, whose palace at Lambeth was attacked and damaged. After these disturbances had continued some days, a body of troops arrived in London, the disturbances were quelled, and two ringleaders executed; being previously tortured in the vain hope of obtaining information against their chiefs.

When the parliament was dissolved, the convocation of clergy, contrary to the usual course, was continued; they granted a sum of money, and passed several new canons which excited much discontent, being calculated to support arbitrary measures in church and state, but not being confirmed by parliament, they never had any legal authority. The mob assailed the members of the high commission court.

One of these obnoxious canons required the clergy to swear that they would not consent to any alteration in the government of the church, under archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, etcetera. The requiring an oath so undefined in terms, was loudly exclaimed against. Laud urged forward these measures, seeking by renewed rigour towards the Papists, to cover his attacks upon separatists; but on the queen's interfering, the king ordered the archbishop to desist.

On the dissolution of the English parliament, the king proceeded to press forward preparations against Scotland, but was limited by the want of money.

This was supplied to some extent, by various means; among others, by purchasing at long credit, or rather seizing, a large quantity of pepper belonging to the East India Company, and selling it immediately at a low price. The lords voluntarily lent 200,000*l.*; and other loans were extorted; but the efforts to raise forces, were, in a great degree, unsuccessful; the disinclination to act against the Scots was general. All the proceedings and preparations much resembled those of the former year, and there was much useless expenditure of the scanty means at the king's disposal. Even a friend of Laud called it a war for episcopacy. The primate was now thoroughly unpopular; a mob attacked Lambeth Palace on May the 11th, but Laud had fortified it with cannon, they were repulsed; one of the assailants, a lad, was hung and quartered a few days afterwards.

The Scottish parliament assembled at the time to which it had been prorogued; the members prepared for the approaching struggle with their sovereign, appointing some of their body to be a committee of estates to conduct the government. The nation in general was roused, and their army well organized by officers from the German war. Leslie entered England in August, 1640, with twenty-six thousand men, declaring that they did not march against the people of England, but against the Canterburian faction that troubled the land, after punishing whom they would return home. Hostilities began on the banks of the Tyne, where lord Conway and sir Jacob Astley had been posted, but the Scots forced the passage; the English army was in general dispirited and discontented, so that the earl of Strafford found it necessary that the royal forces should retire into Yorkshire, leaving Durham and Northumberland in possession of the Scottish army, which had been about to disband previous to this success.

The leaders were wise enough to petition the king for peace, and Charles having only hastily raised a

force, great part of which Strafford told him could not act efficiently for some weeks, was glad to listen to this application. But he desired to gain time, and required a full statement of their demands to be laid before a council of the English nobles, summoned to meet at York, on September 24th. Before the lords met, Charles had been urged, from many quarters, to assemble the parliament, especially by petitions from the counties occupied by the Scottish forces ; he complied very unwillingly, by summoning one for November 30th. The council of the nobles had to devise means for supporting the royal army, and consider the immediate measures to be taken with the Scots. A loan was raised in London for the king's army, and a weekly assessment of 5,000*l.* levied on the four northern counties to provide for the Scottish forces, while sixteen English, and eight Scottish commissioners met at Ripon ; they then repaired to London, to consider as to farther transactions, and prepare for the meeting of parliament : the Scots having shown themselves most powerful in the field, evidently would have many supporters in the house.

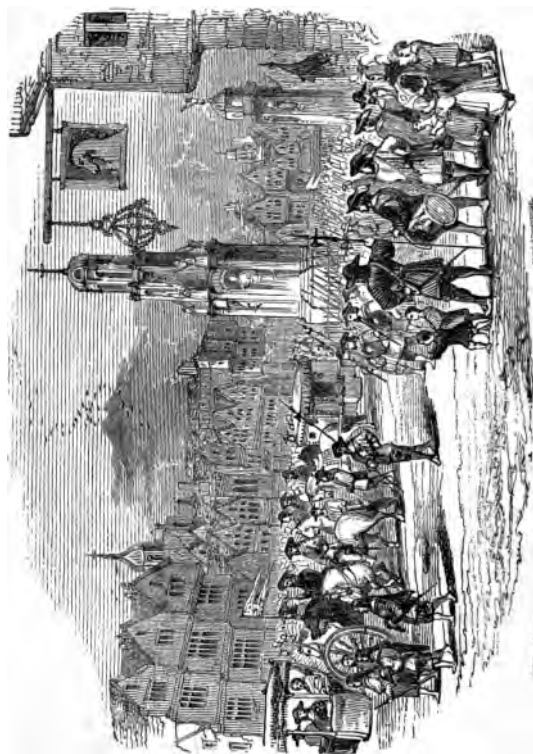
Here we may pause, and notice the peculiar temperament of the king, as shown by his conduct in past events, and as affecting those which were to come, till the dreadful catastrophe which terminated his life and reign. His notions of the prerogative were carried much too far ; he claimed authority his predecessors had never exercised, or at any rate had relinquished ; and which was wholly incompatible with the degree of power then lodged by the constitution, in the houses of parliament and the courts of judicature. This occasioned resistance, and claims from the opposite side subversive of the royal authority, requiring concessions beyond those made by any former monarch. In this contest much evidently depended on the personal conduct of the king, and this, unhappily, tended to estrange and exasperate, rather than to conciliate his opponents. He was

uncomplying and haughty; obstinate in claiming and enforcing what he thought was his right or duty; often denying what he might wisely have granted; but afterwards, when he could no longer maintain his rigid refusal of the demands for the discontinuance of obnoxious proceedings, and was obliged to give way, he yielded with a facility, and to an extent which encouraged the discontented to push their demands still further. Thus he excited more and more general apprehensions of his sincerity, and lost the advantages which would have resulted from a properly tempered course of wise conciliation. Much of this uncertainty evidently arose from the conduct of his advisers; they, in their turn, were held responsible for what proceeded from the natural temper of the king, while few would rely on his word, however solemnly pledged.

The proceedings of the court excited increasing dissatisfaction in the nation, for all reflecting men plainly saw that efforts were making to subvert the foundations on which the constitution rested, and consequently against the welfare and happiness of the subjects; yet the worldly minded, who form the great bulk of a people, were not much displeased with the proceedings of the ruling party; they cared not for the irreligious and oppressive proceedings. The state of peace had caused the national wealth to increase; the rulers might have gone very far, if they had been careful to avoid adding to the number of individuals who suffered by their oppressive measures; and had not roused and alarmed the anti-papal feeling, deeply impressed upon the English nation by the sufferings of the preceding century.

There was another means for safety, which, with a sort of judicial blindness, Laud and his associates closed against themselves. During the early part of this century, large settlements were made on the sea coast of North America. When the shackles of ecclesiastical despotism were drawn more tight at home,

ly sought to enjoy liberty of conscience beyond Atlantic, though under all the disadvantages of ly settled colonies. The settlement of New England, formed in 1620 by some who had been driven into exile by the proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, was especially resorted to by those who now sought their father-land for conscience' sake. In ten years, nearly eighty of the regular clergy, some of the most distinguished in the universities, thus took refuge in a land where the proceedings they continuously objected to were not enforced. Among them was Elliot, who first devoted himself to the spiritual welfare of the Indians, so as to be called their apostle. Many laymen, including some of considerable wealth, also provided retreats for themselves in these distant lands. It is said that even Hampden and Oliver Cromwell had actually prepared to leave England; but the time was fast approaching when the system of government then pursued was to be shaken, and rulers were permitted to collect around them the instruments for their own destruction. Laud induced the king to put forth a proclamation, ordered in council, whereby eight vessels about to sail on the Thames with emigrants in 1639, were stopped a time; though they were ultimately allowed to proceed, emigration was checked. Thus by a sort of situation, Charles and his advisers compelled these men to exert in opposition to his proceedings at home, the energies they would willingly have devoted to settlements abroad. He did not perceive that the colonies, under wise rulers, might have been made means of increasing the national resources, of ridding discontented spirits, and of finding employment for active minds that could not be kept in a state of inaction, or induced to submit to measures which, upon principle, they deemed to be injurious to the spiritual, as well as to the temporal interests of mankind, and contrary to their rights and privileges as Englishmen.



CHEAPSIDE IN A.D. 1637, WITH THE CROSS AND THE CONDUIT.

## CHARLES I.

## PART II.

FROM A.D. 1640, to A.D. 1645.

At the period when Charles I. came into open collision with the parliament, the English nation was in many respects in a prosperous state; for the general policy of the two preceding reigns, with its peaceful character, had contributed to increase the internal sources of wealth, and to encourage foreign commerce, even under the glaring acts of unfairness and oppression that at times attracted notice, and occasioned discontent. Had there been less of arbitrary pertinacity, and more regard for the national feeling in the king and his advisers; with less bitterness of spirit, and dislike to the ruling powers in the leaders of the popular side, both parties might have avoided the dreadful scene of intestine warfare, with all its miseries that followed, in which all deeply suffered.

When the parliament met, November 30th, 1640, it was evident that the opponents of the king had increased their strength; they were disposed to be guided by angry spirits, who felt their power, and were determined to use it; while the king and his advisers found it necessary to adopt a humbler tone than heretofore. His ministers felt that they were in personal danger. Strafford's friends advised him to continue either in Ireland or at York; the king, however, needing his firmness and decided tone in the council, required the earl's presence in London, assuring him that the parliament should not touch a hair of his head. But if Charles had been unable to control the preceding parliaments, he was still less



likely to influence the present. The elections had in many places gone against the royalists ; even the person the king intended for speaker was not elected. This led to the choice of Lenthall, a barrister of limited abilities, quite unequal to the task of controlling angry spirits, or guiding the proceedings of the commons at that period.

When the houses met, the king spoke in a conciliatory manner : he termed the Scots rebels ; but hearing murmurs, he made a sort of apology for so doing. The commons immediately proceeded to consider the grievances ; first attending to those who were suffering by decrees of the High Commission Court, or of the Star Chamber. The release of Prynn, Burton, and Bastwick, was ordered ; their return being so conducted that their entrance into London was a popular triumph, which many individuals of rank attended. The holders of monopolies were excluded from their seats ; this weakened the king's supporters in the house. The leaders next proceeded to a trial of strength : they knew that either themselves or the earl of Strafford must fall. Pym was aware that grounds for proceedings against him might be found : he caused the house to be cleared of the strangers, with many insincere expressions of respect to the king, he denounced evil advisers, expressly pointing to the earl as an apostate, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that ever lived. The earl was impeached directly, and the charge lodged at once with the house of lords ; the leaders fearing that if the king knew of their design, the parliament would be immediately dissolved. Strafford heard something of these proceedings while with the king ; he hastened to take his place, but was ordered to withdraw, and committed to the Tower ; many who did not fully approve of the designs of Pym and his associates, were not displeased to unite against a minister so unpopular in his conduct, the object of general hatred from his haughty behaviour. He

now suffered by the same course he had formerly urged against the duke of Buckingham.

The leaders of the opposition to the court, in the house of commons, were Pym, Hampden, and St. John ; for a time they were supported by many individuals of talent and moderation, who saw the necessity for directing the affairs of government in a less arbitrary course than that pursued by Strafford and Laud. Among these were Holles, Falkland, Vane, Hyde, Selden, and Digby, of whom some continued to act with the parliament after open hostilities took place ; others became supporters of the king, when his opponents interfered with his legitimate authority.

Having thus deprived the king of the support of his most able, as well as most arbitrary minister, the popular leaders pursued their victory. Secretary Windebank who had been the prominent instrument in protecting the Romish priests, found it necessary to retire to France. Thus the ministers of the king learned that it was no longer safe for them to act by the directions of their royal master.

We must not be surprised at the extent to which the fears respecting Popery were then carried. The atrocities perpetrated in the reign of Mary, less than a century before, were still fresh in the minds of the nation : the whole course of intermediate events, especially the efforts in behalf of Mary Stuart, the Spanish armada, the gunpowder plot, and the continual machinations of the Jesuits, were enough to keep alive that fear. The proceedings of Laud and his followers, in restoring rites and ceremonials identified with Popery, were before the eyes of the people, while many were persecuted for opposing them. It was notorious, that several individuals of rank and influence had become converts to the church of Rome ; although Laud did not hesitate to oppose that church in controversy, it was evident that, in many essentials of doctrine and rites, he

adopted its worst errors. Nor was this course pursued merely by a party in the church, devoid of actual power. These views were not only held, but enforced by the king and the archbishop, the chief individuals in the church and in the state. Even reflecting minds apprehended that the re-establishment of the horrors of Popery was at hand, when so many of its essentials were restored, and the language of strong affection to the church of Rome was generally used by leading churchmen; while any affection for other Protestant churches, or even for the leaders of the English reformation, at once rendered a man obnoxious to those in power.

Laud was the next object of attack: the late proceedings of the convocation were made grounds for impeaching him. A general charge of attempts to subvert the laws and constitution in church and state was also alleged, while the Scottish commissioners gave aid, by requiring justice upon the two great incendiaries, as they termed Strafford and Laud. On the impeachment being presented to the lords, the archbishop was ordered into the custody of the usher of the black rod; six weeks afterwards he was sent to the Tower. Finch, who, when chief justice, had urged the decision in favour of the king's right to collect ship-money, was the next impeached. After a vain attempt to excuse his conduct before the house of commons, he fled to Holland. The king suffered this storm to burst upon his principal supporters, with apparent indifference or apathy. He felt his weakness, and shrunk from the contest with the popular voice, doubtless hoping to regain his power when the Scottish question was settled, and that army disbanded; the existence of which encouraged the leaders in parliament to the bold and decisive measures they pursued. It is now well known, that the Scottish commissioners, and their friends in the house of commons, felt that unless the latter could firmly establish themselves before the Scottish

leaders and their army were gone, a stop would soon be put to their proceedings. The king, therefore, in his haste to conclude the northern affairs, conceded several points, which much weakened him, and discouraged his supporters: among them was the leaving those whom the popular party denominated incendiaries, to be judged by the two parliaments; the earl of Traquhair was one, who is reported to have entreated the king not to let his life stand in the way of a reconciliation with the people. This was generous on his part; but for his own sake, Charles ought not to have given up his adherents.

The presence of the Scottish commissioners in London, also helped to diffuse their religious views. St. Antholin's church was assigned to them, where Divine worship was conducted according to the presbyterian forms. The church was crowded, many thronged the doors, unable to procure admission. These proceedings strengthened the popular feeling against the bishops, so that petitions were presented to parliament for the abolition of episcopacy. One, presented on December 11th, was signed by fifteen thousand inhabitants of London; it desired the removal of episcopacy, "root and branch." The presbyterian feeling against the order of bishops made the commons active in this matter; but at first only a resolution was carried against their sitting in the house of lords, expressing that their exercising legislative and judicial power, hindered the due discharge of their ecclesiastical duties. The king declared that his conscience would not permit him to allow the destruction of an order, without which he considered the Christian religion could not exist. Still he did not pursue an open or decided course: he was then seeking to strengthen himself by alliances with foreign powers; and as a connexion with a Popish prince was now out of the question, he espoused his daughter, the princess Mary, to the prince of Orange.

The queen went to France on the pretext of illness, to obtain help from her brother ; but the private enmity of Richelieu counteracted her wishes, and urged her return to England. She applied to the pope for a considerable sum ; promising in return, that the penal laws against Papists should be abolished at once in Ireland, and in England as soon as the king regained his authority ; but the pope would not confide in the promises of Charles, only the small amount of thirty-five thousand crowns was given as a present. How would even the parsimony of Elizabeth have scorned a gift from the deadly foe of the religion and liberties of the land !

The prosecution against Strafford was urged forward. The general feeling of three nations was excited and arrayed against one individual. The king again sacrificed his advisers, by consenting that privy counsellors should be examined upon oath, respecting the advice Strafford had given as a privy counsellor, which rendered it unsafe for any one to express an opinion, even when called on by the king, and in conformity to his solemn oath, if it were likely at any time to displease the party to which he might be opposed. The trial commenced March 23rd : it lasted fifteen days, beginning at nine in the morning, and continuing till four or five o'clock in the afternoon, the king ill-advisedly being present. The charges against the earl for the most part failed ; there was evidently a reaction begun in favour of the impeached minister, when the house of commons resorted to that arbitrary and unfair proceeding, the passing a bill of attainder. This was supported by a statement that secretary Vane allowed himself to be required to verify, of a declaration said to have been made by Strafford in council, that the king had an army in Ireland, which he might employ in reducing England to obedience.

The bill was debated and opposed for many days : meanwhile the house of lords proceeded with the

trial and the defence of Strafford, who was encouraged by an assurance from the king, that whatever sacrifices he might make to the popular violence, he would never consent that one who had served him so faithfully, should suffer in his life or fortune. Several plans were devised for the safety of Strafford: one was, so to arrange the garrison of the Tower that the earl might be removed or rescued; this was prevented by the steady conduct of sir William Balfour, the lieutenant, who refused a large bribe. An attempt was also made to interest the English army, so that it might be marched to London, and overawe the parliamentarians; but the leading officers disagreed, and colonel Goring betrayed the project. The bill of attainder was carried; it was opposed by about sixty members; but to intimidate farther opposition to the prevailing parties, the names of these members were placarded in the streets, as Straffordians, and enemies to their country: thus they were pointed out as the objects of popular insult. Other violent and underhand means were taken, to excite panic: many ministers even preached expressly in support of the proceedings of the parliament. The violence and wrong doings of one party are too commonly followed by similar proceedings on the other.

As a last resource, the king offered to give the disposal of the principal state offices to the parliamentary party, if they would spare Strafford's life. This was assented to, but interrupted by the death of the earl of Bedford, the chief of several influential leaders of the opposition to the court, who had a short time before been admitted to the king's council, to soften their hostile feelings. The matter then devolved on lord Say, by whose advice the king spoke to the houses of parliament, telling them that he would have left the law to take its course; but their proceeding by an act of attainder made him a party, and he could not consent to such an act, knowing that Strafford was innocent of the main charges

against him ; but he was willing to exlude him from office during life, as guilty of misdemeanours. This ill-judged interference stimulated the enemies of Strafford : it was declared a breach of the privileges of parliament, and an armed rabble, not less than six thousand, crowded to Westminster, on May 3, calling for justice, and even threatening the king. A protestation was made by the members of both houses, declaring that they would protect the religion and liberties of the nation ; hypocritically adding, that they would protect the king against his enemies. This measure, introduced by Pym, both soothed the populace, and kept up their excitement, which was stimulated by rumours of foreign invasion and other dangers, while the leaders of the commons pressed forward the proceedings against Strafford. Eighty peers attended the trial, but more than one half were absent from the debate on the bill of attainder. Many were kept away by personal threats ; and the Romanists had refused to subscribe the protestation against Popery. At last only two charges out of twenty-eight, were voted to be proved : one, that he had quartered soldiers on peaceable householders without a cause ; the other, that he had obliged all Scots living in Ireland to take an unlawful oath. This, under the opinion of the judges, was pronounced to be treason ; the bill of attainder was passed on May 8, when a deputation was sent from both houses to urge the king to consent. It was on a Saturday, crowds assembled round the court at Whitehall with loud threats ; they were only appeased by an assurance that the king would assent.

Strafford wrote to the king a few days before, releasing him from his promise, by advising him to consent to the bill, but declaring his own innocence. Sunday was a day of doubt and distress to the unhappy king, who with all his rashness and obstinacy, had not strength of mind to adhere firmly to that course which he knew would be right, and would

save his minister. He sent for one to counsel him after another, as weak-minded men usually do in cases of difficulty. The bishops advised him to consult the judges, the judges referred him back to the bishops. Only bishop Juxon advised him to be firm in refusing to order the death of a man whom he did not believe to be guilty. Williams, and other bishops, drew a distinction between his conscience as an individual, and as a king acting with his parliament; but he was, probably, most influenced by the selfish fears of the queen and his courtiers, all thoroughly alarmed for their personal safety, and unwilling to incur the danger of a tumult, even though the life of their former adviser and associate was at stake. Charles signed a commission to give the royal assent to the act of attainder against his counsellor; uttering a declaration which may readily be believed, "The earl of Strafford is happier than I am."

On the following Tuesday, the king sent the prince with a request to the houses, that they would consent to change the sentence to perpetual imprisonment; but marred the whole force of the application, by putting the request conditionally; and at last, by the queen's suggestion, added a postscript, that if he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday. The persecutors of Strafford apprehended that if his life should be spared, he would eventually regain power, when their own doom would be sealed: they therefore refused even to spare him for a few days, lest his friends should be able to make some more powerful effort in his favour, during the interval. On Wednesday, May 12th, the earl was beheaded on Tower Hill, in the presence of an immense multitude, who forbore to insult him; but in the evening there were bonfires and illuminations, to mark the public joy at his downfall.

Strafford had not expected this fate: though he had placed his life at the disposal of the king, he

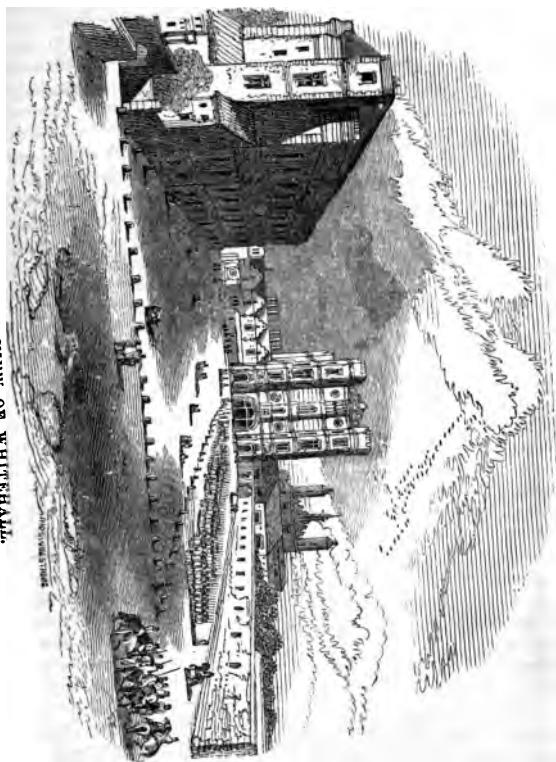


did not suppose that he should be thus forsaken. When told that Charles had consented to his death, he started from his chair, repeating the words of holy writ, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help," *Psa. cxlvi. 3.* It has been remarked, that the same psalm contains a declaration that God executeth judgments for the oppressed; whatever may be our views of the proceedings just narrated, there were many respects in which Strafford had been an oppressor.

The terms Cavaliers and Roundheads became common in these tumults before Whitehall; the latter being applied by the military and courtiers who resorted to the palace, to the popular party of the middle and lower classes, who usually cut their hair short, while persons of rank and fashion wore it long. These appellations were long used by the court party, while their opponents bestowed on them the name of Malignants.

Strafford had, indeed, cause for his exclamation: to obtain the royal favour, he had done what he knew to be wrong, and now he tasted the bitter result, in suffering evil where he had a right to expect protection. His fate shows the vanity of earthly confidence: like the deathbeds of Beaufort and Wolsey, it affords a lesson to the mighty of this world. There is but one Prince and Potentate whose subjects may be assured of full protection and preservation from their enemies: he is King of kings, and Lord of lords; he can defend his own from the enemies of the soul as well as those of the body; and he will save to the uttermost all who trust in him. His word is unchangeable, his kingdom cannot be moved: if the events of this period are marked, it will be found that it was as they departed from his laws, and despised his precepts, however they might profess to recognise them; it was as they forsook the living and true God, king Charles and his opponents were each in turn broken

GENERAL VIEW OF WHITEHALL.



and laid aside, when the purposes of Divine Providence had been fulfilled, according to the prophetic warning,

Because they have cast away the law of the Lord of hosts,  
And despised the word of the Holy One of Israel.  
Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people,  
And he hath stretched forth his hand against them,  
And hath smitten them.—Isa. v. 24, 25.

The death of Strafford was the triumph of the efforts of the enemies of the crown ; for however they might in words still recognise the king, it was evident that he never could forget or forgive being forcibly compelled so materially to weaken his own power, thereby to hasten his own downfall. A direct struggle had taken place between the king and the leaders of the popular party, in which the monarch was overcome. Reflecting minds saw to what these contests tended ; they prepared for, or at least looked forward to the certain result ; for in such cases, often no preparation can be made ; events must be met as they arise : well then is it for the Christian, that he is assured the Lord reigneth, that all things work together for good, that the wrath of man shall praise God, and the remainder he will restrain. With whatever views the deepening contest was then regarded by all contemporaries, whether considering it as “the great rebellion,” or as a necessary stand against arbitrary power and religious persecution, it is important for us not to be carried away by personal feelings, so as blindly to approve of the whole proceedings on either side. We may now look beyond the events which then engrossed attention, and considering the results, with the important lessons they convey, it is unnecessary minutely to record details, which, when tried by the unerring rule of the Divine word, must condemn many who prominently engaged in them. Unhappily at that time the past history of the nation, in reference to civil discords, only afforded the experience of strug-

gles between the king and the nobles, with a few instances of tumultuary rebellion of the people. All the instances of the abuse of power were from royalty or nobility: it was yet to be experienced that the rule of a popular government may also be tyrannical, and exhibit acts of oppression and violence. Ancient history had recorded this of the republics of Greece and Rome; but England had yet to learn, that no form of government in itself secures liberty and happiness to those under its influence. Although the abuse of the prerogative was then the evil chiefly feared, danger threatened from both extremes.

The commons called for more impeachments; six judges and thirteen bishops were named; even the queen felt herself in danger. That she exercised a pernicious influence over the king cannot be doubted; but her power was not so great as was then asserted: in many things, Charles had a will of his own that was paramount to her counsels, even in some of his most injurious measures; but she often encouraged unpopular proceedings, and was thoroughly disliked by the nation in general. The houses of parliament, however, did not continue to proceed with the same harmony after the pressure of the events just narrated had gone by. They passed several useful laws, abolishing the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, and removing many vexatious and illegal transactions. The king hesitated long enough to show that these laws were carried against his will, thus he unhappily managed to lose the credit of what really were needful and popular concessions. The king's consent was also obtained to a law, that, in future, parliaments should at least be held every third year; but another was also obtained, by which the present parliament could not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without the consent both of the lords and commons. This was certainly an infringement of the constitution;

although the arbitrary conduct of the king supplied a pretext for such a course, yet it did not justify a measure which destroyed the balance of power. There might be necessity to protect the nation from ill-judged and rash attempts of the king to dissolve this parliament, like the preceding one; but a limited period would have been a sufficient protection to the parliament, without placing the members as governors who could not be removed till they chose to abandon their power; a termination not soon to be expected. This act received the king's assent with that for the attainder of Strafford.

The lords resisted some of the acts of the commons, they refused to consent to the abolition of episcopacy, or to exclude the bishops from the house of peers. The king encouraged these differences, being aware that his supporters in Scotland were becoming more powerful; in August, 1641, when the armies were ordered to be disbanded, he proceeded to Edinburgh. His presence seemed necessary there to save the earl of Montrose and some others, who, after being supporters of the covenant, had lately corresponded with the king, and were then prisoners for so doing. Nothing satisfactory resulted from the royal visit to Scotland: the adherence of Montrose to the king's cause was followed by the defection of the marquis of Hamilton, who had long been chief adviser on northern affairs. In October, the king found himself obliged to consent to the division of the bishops' lands, and to grant honours to some of the popular leaders.

While the king was in Scotland, a most atrocious conspiracy ripened in Ireland. The natives of that country were not only subjugated, but were still treated as a conquered people; no measures were used to unite them with the English, or to bring them over to the Protestant faith. As Papists, and an oppressed race, they determined, if possible, to

throw off the English yoke ; the differences between Charles and his parliament facilitated their enterprise, while his insincerity in withholding the favours he promised at the beginning of his reign, gave immediate cause for discontent ; although the successors of Strafford had reduced the taxes, and stopped the proceedings for seizing estates. In October, 1641, there was a general insurrection, with a massacre of the Protestants. The arrangements for this atrocity had been instigated by the priests, who induced Roger Moore and Plunket, two influential characters, to persuade sir Phelim O'Neal and lord M'Guire, two violent native chieftains, to plan and head the revolt. The insurgents were disappointed in their attempts to seize Dublin and some of the northern towns, information being given at the critical moment, by a drunken conspirator ; but the open country was in possession of the rebellious Irish, by whom the most horrid atrocities were committed on the peaceful English settlers. All the acts of cruelty which stain the pages of history in recording the crusades of Popery against the Waldenses and Albigenses, as well as in other similar proceedings, were repeated by the Irish Papists in this insurrection ; acts at which the civilized mind sickens, but which the unrenewed heart of man has ferocity enough to perpetrate. On the lowest reasonable computation, fifty thousand Protestants were thus murdered.

The English felt their alarm against Popery increased by these open displays of the fruits of papal machinations ; while the popular feeling against the king personally, was further excited by the rebels declaring that they took up arms for him. Even a royal commission authorizing them to take up arms was shown. The authenticity of this may be doubted ; but there is no doubt the king had secretly planned measures for arming the Irish to act in his behalf in Scotland, and even in England.

This dreadful event hastened the king's return to

London, he having previously sent a message to the parliament, that he wholly committed the Irish affairs to their care and wisdom, and depended on them to carry on what was needful. For a time, Charles seemed to have gained some popularity ; or rather, the parliamentary leaders were unfavourably looked upon, in consequence of their actions. They saw that farther agitation was necessary to enable them to maintain the power they had assumed ; a remonstrance on the state of the nation was prepared, calculated to keep up the popular excitement. This was only carried after an unprecedented debate of fifteen hours, lasting till midnight, when many of the members were worn out and had retired. Also the king's message respecting the rebellion in Ireland gave the commons a pretext for assuming the direction of the army.

Many of the acts of the king and his advisers were infatuated ; his opponents took advantage of this, pressing on with firmness their measures against his authority. The king several times interfered with the proceedings of the house of commons by direct messages, while the parliamentary leaders encouraged the populace to assemble in crowds, threatening and insulting their opponents. This was complained of, but Pym insisted that the people should not be hindered from obtaining their just desires in that way. At length, wearied by repeated insults, twelve of the bishops declared that they could not safely attend in the house of lords, therefore they would in future absent themselves, protesting that all things done in their absence would be illegal. Their attempt thus to claim the power of exercising a veto upon all measures, and to assume power to check the government of the country, was absurd and impracticable : it brought on them an impeachment for treason, and they were sent to the Tower. Their imprisonment, and the renewed threats against the queen, induced the king to make a hasty retort a few days afterwards.

He impeached five leading commoners, Pym, Holles, Haslerig, Hampden, and Stroud, also lord Kimbolton, all active opponents of the crown. While the houses were debating on the novelty of a royal impeachment, the king sent an officer to seal the desks and papers of the accused, and ordered a sergeant at arms to demand the five commoners at the bar of the house. They were not given up, but an answer was sent, that they should be made accountable to any legal charge. After a short deliberation, the king resolved to press the matter, and if successful, he would have thereby strengthened his supporters. He went to the house, attended by some hundreds of his guards and officers, and taking the speaker's chair, demanded that the accused should be given up to him. But his intention had been betrayed by the French ambassador and the countess of Carlisle: the five members had warning, which enabled them to leave the house before the king entered. Finding, as he said, "the birds were flown," he retired, but not till the speaker had refused to answer his inquiries, kneeling before him, and saying, he had only eyes to see and tongue to speak, as directed by the house; and the word "Privilege" was repeated loudly as the monarch withdrew. The attendants, meanwhile, showed a readiness to use force, if commanded to do so. Lord Digby was said to have been the chief adviser in this attempt; it was made without the knowledge of lords Falkland and Hyde, two moderate leaders of the popular party, who had lately been taken into the king's council; they wholly disapproved the proceeding.

Immediately after the king's departure, the houses adjourned for a week. During this interval, matters were arranged to gain advantage by the inconsiderate attempt. The king went the next day to Guildhall, and endeavoured to conciliate the popular feeling, while he expressed his desire that the accused should be sought for, but was received with murmurs, and cries of "Privilege." On January 11th, the five



members proceeded to Westminster, to resume their places, guarded by a large number of armed supporters, who insulted the king as they passed the palace. The royal family, however, had gone to Hampton Court the day before, whence they proceeded to Windsor a few days afterwards. The king then offered to give up all proceedings against the members; this thorough retraction encouraged the parliamentary leaders, and they demanded that the king's advisers in this breach of privilege should be given up. The king refused, and ordered that all their demands relative to church and state should be at once mentioned. The lords expressed satisfaction, but in the commons, Pym did not hesitate to accuse the king of having authorized some persons to go to Ireland and head the rebels.

By this time the popular leaders had determined to prostrate the royal authority; but a full disclosure of their designs would have been premature; they required, therefore, as a preliminary, that the command of the army and navy should be committed to officers chosen by the parliament. At this period, the secret counsels of each party were often betrayed to the other, while each was frequently led into measures injurious to itself. By such treacherous advice, or perhaps by the indiscretion of his own friends, the king was induced to adopt as a principle, that whatever was contrary to the original constitution of the kingdom, though agreed to by him, was not binding on him. Under this fallacious view, Charles consented to many things, being secretly resolved to set them aside on the first opportunity; while his opponents gained strength at the moment by his acceding to their demands, and were on their guard against trusting his compliance. This accounts for the king granting several demands of parliament at that time. He consented that the parliament should levy soldiers for the Irish war; that the bishops should lose their seats in the house of lords; (this was advised by the queen, who, as a Papist, was quite willing to

lower the Protestant hierarchy;) to leave the parliament to settle the liturgy; never to stop the execution of the laws against Papists; and to approve the commanders of the army nominated to him, while he desired that the unusual powers to be exercised by the latter might first be given to him, that he might grant them. Determined, however, to quarrel with the king, his opposers seized upon this last request, and treating it as annulling their desire, voted that his advisers were enemies to the state. Early in March, by an ordinance of their own, they appointed lieutenants to more than fifty districts, with full power to nominate inferior officers, and to suppress any insurrections or invasions. Here was a direct infringement of the constitutional authority of the monarch.

During the preceding months, till the king left Whitehall, the palace and houses of parliament had been continually beset by tumultuary crowds, threatening violence to all who opposed the popular proceedings. A long series of papers was issued, both by the king and the parliament, full of discussions and allegations on the subjects in dispute, in which victory rather than truth was sought on both sides. For the particulars the reader must be referred to larger histories and memorials of that period; but the perusal is wearisome, and painful, with the light now possessed, as to the actual motives and designs of all parties.

A civil war was evidently near at hand; the king negotiated with foreign powers; for which purpose the queen went to the continent, taking with her the crown jewels, to raise money by pledging them. Charles, after firmly refusing to grant the parliament authority to direct the militia, then almost the only armed force of the nation, withdrew to the northern counties, taking up his residence at York, about the latter end of March. Here he found a pleasant change from the scenes recently witnessed in London:

instead of insults from the mob, loyal addresses were presented, while the nobility and gentry assembled around him. From time to time accounts of what passed in the houses, with observations upon their proceedings, were written by Hyde; the despatches were sent from one house to another, by gentlemen attached to the king, who had horsemen ready to forward them immediately they were received. A main object of the king's northern journey failed; this was the possession of Hull, stored with large supplies of arms and ammunition, when the army was disbanded. The duke of York, and his cousin prince Rupert, were received with much respect by the governor, sir John Hotham, who was informed the next morning, April 23, that the king himself meant to dine there. But Hotham was also secretly informed, that the king designed to seize the place, and order his execution. When Charles appeared, the drawbridge was raised and entrance refused; he had no resource but to retire, and pronounce Hotham a traitor.

The parliament resented this attempt of the king; manifestos appeared on each side; but the discussion was of little moment in itself. The king and the commons were now openly opposed, the latter urged forward large preparations for warfare, calling out the militia by their own authority, in May: the king also ordered levies in every county. Selden in vain showed that both the king and the parliament were acting contrary to law, in thus raising troops in opposition to each other; the laws were silenced by the din of arms. The civil war was now actually begun; blood was shed on both sides, though in tumults rather than in open hostilities. In the south, the parliamentary supporters were most powerful; in the midland and northern counties, the royal cause was best maintained. Many peers speedily joined the king at York; among them the lord keeper, who sent the great seal thither before him. Farther ne-

gotiations were pursued, each party requiring what the other would not grant; till, in the end of July, matters were brought to a crisis, by the refusal of colonel Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, to obey the orders of the parliament, which was followed by the appearance of the earl of Essex, with a body of troops to enforce its commands. This assumption of power was founded on the protest already mentioned, first made by the houses of parliament, and then required to be generally taken, by which all were engaged to maintain the power and privilege of parliament. To refuse compliance with any ordinance of the houses was called delinquency; thus all who opposed the proceedings or mandates of the parliamentary leaders, were subjected to fines and imprisonment as delinquents.

The king pronounced Essex and his officers to be traitors if they did not return home, while the parliament denounced that proclamation and its advisers. Charles then resolved to take the field; he summoned all his subjects northward of the Trent, or within twenty miles of its southern bank, to meet him at Nottingham on August 22nd, where he determined to raise his standard. The ceremony, which was an open declaration of hostilities, is thus described by Clarendon.

“According to the proclamation, upon the 25th day of August, the standard was erected about six of the clock in the evening of a very stormy and tempestuous day. The king himself, with a small train, rode to the top of Castle Hill. Varney, the knight marshal, who was standard bearer, carrying the standard, which was then erected in that place, with little other ceremony than the sound of drums and trumpets. Melancholy men observed many ill presages about that time. There was not one regiment of foot yet brought hither; so that the trained bands, which the sheriff had drawn together, were all the strength the king had for his person, and the



NOTTINGHAM CASTLE.

guard of his standard. There appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation ; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York ; and a general sadness covered the whole town. The standard was blown down the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the melancholy state of the king's affairs when the standard was set up."

The occurrences of the days immediately preceding this event, had shown the determination of the parliamentarians. On August 15th, Hampden arrayed the militia of Buckinghamshire on their behalf ; on the 18th, the gates of Coventry were closed against the king ; on the 21st, Dover Castle was seized for the parliament. Thus England was once more the seat of civil warfare ; the highest power of the state, the monarch, was on the one side ; against him was arrayed the great mass of his subjects, represented by the house of commons, or according to the appellation it assumed, "The parliament." The house of lords was divided, the king's supporters having retired to York : in fact, it no longer had authority as a legislative body. The greater part of the nobles adhered to the crown, but some joined the popular cause. Such a state of things must have deeply grieved every reflecting mind ; evil days were now begun. Coming events, it has been already said, cast their shadows before, the general opinion respecting the unhappy monarch is strongly expressed by a female contemporary, the wife of the well-known governor of Nottingham Castle. "He made no conscience of granting anything to the people, which he resolved should not oblige him longer than it should serve his turn ; for he was a prince that had nothing of faith or truth, justice or generosity, in him. He was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was ; and so bent upon being an absolute uncontrollable sovereign, that he was resolved

either to be such a king or none.”\* Though the portrait is too highly coloured, the outline may be deemed correct.

The words of holy writ are,

The king that faithfully judgeth the poor,  
His throne shall be established for ever.

Prov. xxix. 14.

It is obvious that more is here meant, than deciding with impartiality in personal matters brought before him. No monarch can so enter into the judicial proceedings of his land, as to decide every cause; his attention must rather be directed to those general principles, and measures of general utility, which bear upon the welfare of his people at large. Here king Charles I. was lamentably deficient: without in the least palliating the conduct of his opponents, it is evident that through his whole course he mainly regarded himself, and his requirements as a king, but holy writ has declared, that no man “liveth to himself,” Rom. xiv. 7: none do so without painful results.

A civil war now begun; and after an interval of a century and a half, the fields of our island were again to be drenched with the blood of men of England, slain by their fellow-countrymen!

The royalists did not feel much confidence when the king raised his standard at Nottingham, August 22, 1642. He was advised to retire to York, as the earl of Essex was concentrating the parliamentary forces at Northampton. Charles refused, but consented to send the earl of Southampton and Dorset, with sir John Culpepper, to London, thinking that if the parliament would not treat, the people would be less willing to support its cause. The parliament declined entering into any negotiations, unless the king would take down his standard, and recall some late proclamations. This was not listened to,

\* Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson.

and prince Rupert, the son of the late palatine, by the king's sister, having arrived, strongly urged hostilities. He made a hasty expedition through several of the midland counties at the head of some cavalry, raising soldiers for the king's army, committing acts of violence and military pillage on the country through which he passed, hitherto unknown in England, though practised throughout Germany during the thirty years' war.

The marquis of Hertford was engaged in raising troops in the west ; about the middle of September the king marched from Nottingham to join him. His army did not commit the same outrages as the troops of prince Rupert ; and whilst on the march, he made a public and solemn declaration, that his intention was strictly to support the true Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and the just privileges of parliament. People, however, could not but recollect, that though he had lately issued a proclamation at York, forbidding Papists to join his army, yet there were many at court and in the camp, and he was on his march to unite with others then taking up arms in his behalf ; and only a few days afterwards he wrote to the earl of Newcastle, in the north, not to inquire into the opinions of the men offering to serve, if they were loyalists. Such constant insincerity rendered men unwilling to give confidence to this unhappy king's declarations ; yet they made considerable impression, and the number of his troops increased.

The royal army arrived at Shrewsbury on September 20th, where they were well received, the king still pursuing measures of mildness and persuasion. Here he raised considerable sums of money, the Romanists in particular assisting. Lord Spencer, then in attendance at Shrewsbury, did not hesitate to write that the king was averse to peace, and that there was much reason for apprehension, if the king and his immediate supporters should prevail.



The earl of Essex having secured Warwickshire, set forward to intercept the king's march to the west. After defeating prince Rupert, he occupied Worcester, where he remained. A month's stay at Shrewsbury increased the royal army, when the king determined to leave the earl of Essex behind, and march direct for London. He began this march on October 20th, halting on the 22nd at Edgehill, on the borders of Warwickshire and Oxfordshire; the parliamentary army occupying the adjacent village of Keinton the same evening. Their march was so hasty, that a part of the troops were not come up; and, by the advice of his council, the king resolved to turn, and attack Essex.

On the morning of Sunday, October 23rd, the royal army appeared drawn up on Edgehill; the parliamentarians were arranged on the lower ground. For some hours the armies stood facing each other, each seeming reluctant to begin the fatal affray; but at two o'clock Essex ordered his artillery to fire. The royalists then advanced; Rupert charged with his cavalry, and routed the troops opposed to him, but rashly pursued the fugitives to Keinton, where his followers plundered the baggage. Meanwhile the centre of the parliamentarians repulsed their opponents. Sir Edward Varney, the king's standard bearer, was slain, and the general, the earl of Lindsey, being mortally wounded, was taken prisoner. Prince Rupert returned too late to remedy this disaster; but the parliamentarians, from want of ammunition, or some other cause, did not pursue their advantage. The royal army continued in its original position on the high ground, while Essex occupied the field of contest, strewn, as it is estimated, with the dead bodies of more than four thousand English, thus slaughtered by their countrymen. On the following day the earl retired to Warwick, counselled by his officers, who had served on the continent, and were not eager to close the war, though against the

wish of Hollis and others. The king drew off to Banbury, while Rupert, on the Tuesday night attacked Keinton with a party of horse, putting to death many of the sick and wounded with his accustomed barbarity.

The news of the battle was soon carried to London by fugitives, whose reports excited much alarm; but when farther intelligence was received, the parliament claimed the victory. Certainly the battle retarded the advance of the royalists upon London, though it would not have prevented it, had the king pursued his previous determination. His delay was a mistake fatal to his success, though even his council did not wish him to regain power by conquest. The king first turned aside to Oxford, where he was joyfully received by the university. Many gentlemen who had hitherto stood aloof, joined the royalists; these cavaliers enabled prince Rupert again to advance with a marauding party, who proceeded as far as Staines, exciting much alarm in the metropolis, and causing the parliament to have recourse to active measures for increasing their army. The apprentices were encouraged to enlist, and considerable support was drawn from the eastern counties, then organizing under Oliver Cromwell. On November 7th, Essex arrived in London, quartering his army in the towns and villages on the western side.

From Oxford the king proceeded to Reading, afterwards advancing to Colnbrook, where he was met by the earl of Northumberland and three commoners, with a petition for pacific measures. The king returned a favourable answer, on which the parliament ordered Essex to suspend hostilities; but the instructions were hardly given when the sound of cannon called the general from the house of lords. Hastening towards Brentford, he found that, notwithstanding his peaceable answer, the king had ordered an attack upon that town, under the cover of a thick fog; but the regiment of Hollis resisted

till reinforcements were brought, when the royalists gave up the attempt.

Sunday, November 24th, was desecrated by the preparations for a conflict. Essex then was at the head of 24,000 men ; all was ready for an assault on the royal army. Troops were already moving to intercept the king's retreat, when Essex again, under the advice of his stipendiary officers, forbore the attack ; thus the king was allowed to retire to Oxford unmolested.

During the winter the military operations were confined to predatory and marauding expeditions, each party strengthening itself for farther proceedings. In March negotiations were entered upon ; Northumberland and others were received as commissioners from the parliament, offering to negotiate on the following terms : that the king should disband his army, and return to the parliament ; that delinquents, as the principal supporters of the king's measures were called, should be left for trial ; that Papists should be disarmed ; that the bishops should be done away, and a general pardon granted ; excluding, however, some of the most staunch supporters of the throne.

These terms did not indicate much sincerity in the desires professed by the parliament for peace. The king, on the other hand, required that his revenue, garrisons, and ships should be restored ; that whatever had been done contrary to his right, and all acts of illegal power by the parliament, should be recalled and disclaimed ; offering that he would consent to the execution of the laws against Papists, provided that the sectaries might not prevail ; and that all persons left out of the pardon should be tried by their peers.

The treaty, as might be expected, was broken off after several weeks' conferences : meanwhile hostile movements proceeded. Reading was taken by the earl of Essex, when Hampden again advised bold measures, and the investment of Oxford, a step which

would probably have ended the war, as that city was not prepared for a siege; but Essex evidently was averse to bold designs, probably dreading the consequences of an unconditional triumph over the king, and he continued inactive at Reading for several weeks, and then retired.

The warfare proceeded in other parts of England with different success. Waller gained advantages for the parliament, occupying Portsmouth and Winchester, and penetrating to Hereford. In the north, the queen landed on February 22, 1643, at Burlington; she was conducted to York by the earl of Newcastle, who was stronger than Fairfax his opponent; but the warfare was desultory and partial.

The king remained inactive at Oxford for want of ammunition; in May he received a supply from York, upon which he again offered terms to the parliament; these were not listened to, and the commons even impeached the queen of treason! The excitement against the royalists was increased about this time, by the discovery of a design of Waller and others, to deliver the city of London to the king's forces. The leader gave up his associates, and was allowed to escape after paying a heavy fine, while his brother-in-law, and another, were hanged. After this, the commons made a solemn engagement not to consent to peace while the Papists were protected; they caused a great seal to be made, on which the houses of parliament were represented, and ordered an assembly of divines to meet for settling religion.

In the west, a plot was detected for seizing Bristol for the king; two of the leaders were hanged on a charge of having acted as spies. The king, as he had previously done, declared that he would execute some of his prisoners; but retaliation having been threatened, both parties continued to treat all taken under ordinary circumstances, as prisoners of war. Amidst the many very painful matters that attended this civil war, it is some satisfaction to Englishmen to think,

that the cruel ferocity which has been displayed elsewhere, in similar scenes, even in later times, was seldom manifested, and not in any systematic course. May not this be partly attributed to the greater prevalence of Christian knowledge among the lower classes of England at this period, than has existed at any time in those lands which are benighted in the ignorance of Popery?

Mrs. Hutchinson, a contemporary writer, thus speaks of the times: "It was not in the midnight of Popery, nor in the dawn of the gospel's restored day, when light and shades were blended, and almost undistinguished; but when the Sun of truth was exalted in his progress, and hastening towards a meridian glory. It was, indeed, early in the morning, God being pleased to allow me the privilege of beholding the admirable growth of gospel light in my days; and oh, that my soul may never forget to bless and praise his name for the wonders of power and goodness, wisdom and truth, which have been manifested in my time!"

Many, however, misrepresent the great mass of the supporters of the parliament as a brutal and ferocious set of men. This is not a fair statement. In these pages, it is our business to record particulars which may throw light upon the proceedings of all parties: the following extract is in this view important. The same writer says: "The payment of civil obedience to the king and the laws of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckoned among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted: if any out of mere morality and civil honesty discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a puritan, however he conformed to their superstitious worship; if any showed favour to any godly honest person, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent or unjust oppression, he was a Puritan; whoever could endure

a sermon, modest habit, or conversation, or anything good, all these were puritans; and if puritans, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factious hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally the pest of the kingdom. Thus the two factions, in those days, grew up to great heights and enmities, one against the other; while the Papists wanted not industry and subtlety to blow the coals between them, and were so successful that, unless the mercy of God confound them by their own imaginations, we may justly fear they will, at last, obtain their full wish." But Mrs. Hutchinson adds: "The Puritan party being weak and oppressed, had not faith enough to disown all that adhered to them for worldly interests, and indeed it required more than human wisdom to discern all of them; wherefore they, in their low condition, gladly accepted any that would come over to them, and their enemies, through envy, augment much their party, while with injuries and reproaches they drove many that never intended it to take that party; which, in the end, got nothing but confusion by those additions." Such are the painful results to which violent proceedings will lead; designing men always will be found, who take advantage of party spirit and party proceedings, when carried to any length, though in resisting what is unjust. It is deeply to be regretted that political leaders will not learn wisdom from past events. The history of this civil war between the king and the people, is replete with instruction for all succeeding generations. Oh that men would be wise, and consider it, and studiously refrain from proceedings which must lead to similar deeds of violence and blood.

In the spring of 1643, the successes of the king and of the parliament were chequered. Waller routed the royalist forces raised by lord Herbert in South Wales, and in April Reading surrendered to the earl of Essex. On May 16th, sir Ralph Hopton gained a victory at Stratton in Cornwall; but in June,

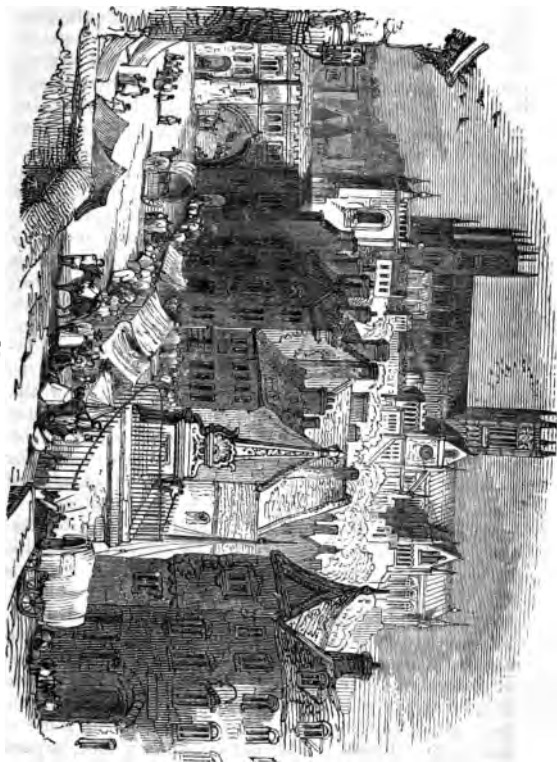
Taunton and Bridgewater surrendered to the parliament.

The superiority of the king's army in cavalry, enabled prince Rupert to sweep the country in several directions to a considerable distance from Oxford, levying contributions wherever he went. In one of these marauding expeditions, a skirmish took place, when Hampden, one of the most distinguished characters on the parliamentary side, received a mortal wound in Chalgrove Field near Thame, of which he died in six days ; but not till he had strongly urged a more active course than the earl of Essex pursued, to whose irresolution and inactivity the loss of the parliamentarians, on that and other occasions, was chiefly owing. The death of this brave and disinterested patriot caused general sorrow. His last hours were employed in seeking that support which never fails.

The royal cause, at this period, advanced in other parts of the kingdom. The earl of Newcastle prevailed in the north, he defeated Fairfax at Atherton Moor, on June 30th ; the two Hothams, who had closed Hull against the king, listened to overtures for the surrender of that place ; but the design being discovered, they were arrested, and sent to London, where they were executed some months afterwards, as traitors to that parliament, whose cause they had so essentially served, by being the first to stand in open hostile opposition to their king. The forces under Newcastle were extended southward so as to occupy Newark, when Cromwell, with a body of cavalry raised in the eastern counties, moved in that direction, and checked the progress of the royalists, by a successful action near Grantham. The earl then advanced in person. After a short struggle, the parliamentary commanders were obliged to fall back, and the royalists took possession of Lincoln.

In the west, the king's generals twice defeated sir William Waller on Roundway Down, near Devizes.

LINCOLN.





In the second action, sir Bevil Granville, one of the most excellent characters among the royalists, was slain. Their success encouraged Rupert to attempt Bristol, which surrendered to him after a siege of three days. Gloucester was then the only strong place remaining in the hands of the parliamentarians in that direction. Cornwall and Devonshire were decidedly attached to the king; the queen was at Exeter, which was strongly fortified.

This state of affairs excited much apprehension in London; entrenchments were thrown up, including a circuit of twelve miles round the metropolis, at which many of all ranks laboured, including even females of condition. The Londoners showed decisive firmness of spirit in opposition to the king's cause, and induced the parliament to refuse to listen to the advice of Essex to make terms with the court. It may be called decisive, for it induced Charles to march against Gloucester, which he besieged, instead of advancing to London. Massey, the governor, did not follow the example set at Bristol; he defended the city under many difficulties; several attempts to carry it by storm were repulsed. The siege was protracted for twenty-six days, during which time the cavalry of the royal army, its chief force, remained useless.

At length Essex marched to the relief of Gloucester; a large body of Londoners strengthened his army. The general showed much ability on this occasion, steadily proceeding towards his object, notwithstanding the efforts of Wilmot and Rupert, whose cavalry hung upon his army. On his near approach the king raised the siege, but endeavoured to intercept Essex on his return. A battle was fought at Newbury. The royal army had the advantage of position, but lost it by the ardour of some of the young officers. The parliamentary foot, especially the London trained bands, withstood the charges of the royal cavalry, who had often expressed their contempt of such opponents.

In the night the king drew off his forces to Oxford, leaving the way to Reading open for Essex. The loss of the royalists was more considerable than that of their opponents : it included lord Falkland, one of the most estimable characters of the day, once the intimate friend of Hampden ; but the unnatural strife then prevailing separated these friends, and hurried them to violent deaths, at not many weeks' interval ; each regretting the lengths to which they saw their respective parties were about to go. Clarendon says, "Falkland was disturbed by the state of affairs, and when there was any overture or hope of peace he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it ; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word, 'Peace, peace,' and would passionately profess, that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart."

The death of those two excellent men removed impediments to the violent proceedings which followed on both sides. There were other reflecting minds engaged on the king's part. Howell wrote about this period to a friend, "Surely God Almighty is angry with England, and it is more sure that God is never angry without cause ; the best way is for every one to lay his hand on his breast, and examine himself thoroughly, to summon his thoughts and winnow them, and so call to remembrance how far he hath offended Heaven, and then it will be found that God is not angry with England but with Englishmen.—I find that I have contributed as much to the drawing down these judgments on England as any other." Well would it be for the present, and for all times, if every one would in like manner "examine himself thoroughly."

While these events were passing in England, the

king made an unsuccessful attempt to engage the Scottish nation in his cause. The greater part decidedly favoured the English parliament, and preparations were made for sending an army to support their cause. The union of the Scottish presbyterians with the English parliamentarians, was strengthened by the latter taking the covenant on September 25th, which from that period was called, "The solemn League and Covenant of the two nations." Its principal engagements were, to preserve the reformed religion of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government ; also the reformation of religion in England and Ireland, according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches ; to abolish Popery and Prelacy ; to defend the king's person, and preserve the rights of parliament, and the liberties of the kingdom.

The king had been more successful in procuring support from Ireland, but unhappily this was done by means which gave countenance to the prevalent notion, that he secretly favoured Papacy. The parliament was so far successful in that country, that the native insurgents had everywhere retired before the English soldiers, who followed up their successes in many cases, with severe retaliation of the cruelties practised upon their Protestant fellow-countrymen by the Irish Papists on the breaking out of the rebellion. The rewards of large grants of land, held out by the parliament, brought over many Englishmen and Scots to take part in this contest, while the government there had been kept in the hands of the earl of Ormond, a decided supporter of the royal cause. The Papists being thus defeated, Ormond sought to make peace with them, that he might be at liberty to aid the royal cause in England. In this design he was opposed by the more decided Protestants, who, under the influence of the parliamentary agents, were adverse to reconciliation with the Papists, and probably were desirous to obtain their lands. In the close of

1642, some leaders of the Irish Papists petitioned the king to listen to their offers for his service ; negotiations were soon after begun by the directions sent by Charles to Ormond. At the same time, a scheme was concerted at the queen's court at York, between the earls of Antrim and Montrose, that the latter should take up arms in Scotland, supported by an army of Irish Papists. The latter plan failed at this time ; but terms of peace were made in September, 1643, so that Ormond was able to send over several regiments to England, in which many Irish had been enrolled. Lord Byron, the governor of Chester, took the field, but the newly arrived regiments were defeated at Nantwich, by Fairfax. One of the prisoners taken by Fairfax on this occasion, was Monk, afterwards so prominent as a parliamentary general, and as the leader in the restoration of Charles II. The king had more odium than succour from this measure, for the employment of an army of Irish Papists against his English Protestant subjects was every where reported with exaggerations ; many of the supporters of the king in the north left his standard on this account, and refused to aid his cause any longer. This action which closed the Irish expedition, was fought on January 25th, 1644.

The above particulars notice the prominent military operations of 1643 ; some of a civil nature were not less important. The Assembly of Divines, consisting of about one hundred and twenty clergy, with thirty laymen of the houses of parliament, began its proceedings in July. Their efforts were directed against the views of the Laudian divines on the one hand, and the rising efforts of the Independents on the other ; they endeavoured to settle Presbyterian forms to be the established system of church government in England, as well as in Scotland ; but their proceedings were opposed, though in vain, by some of their number who were attached to episcopacy, and by others who supported independency.

It is painful to notice how the desire for power leads men into extremes. Baxter does not hesitate to say, that "the Presbyterians drew too near to the way of prelacy, by grasping at a kind of secular power, not using it themselves, but binding the magistrate to confiscate or imprison men, merely because they were excommunicated." This is in effect one of the worst features of Popery; it must with regret be admitted, that when sharpened by mutual contests, Protestants have too often adopted some of the persecuting principles for which the church of Rome has ever been distinguished. Forgetful of the main principles of Protestantism, one of the members did not hesitate to declare that "toleration is the work of the devil!" The Independents, however, steadily maintained that men ought to be allowed the free declaration of their opinions, and to have ministers of their own, even if the Presbyterians were put in possession of the livings and revenues, as the established church of the land. The proceedings of the Assembly of Divines were very important; but they belong to ecclesiastical history, rather than to a brief narrative like the present: and though their unscriptural notions as to toleration must be deprecated, the consistent Protestant will ever feel grateful for the clear statements of scriptural views on doctrinal subjects, set forth in their work called the Assembly's Catechism, supported as it is throughout by references to holy writ.

The attempts to negotiate made in this year all failed; in November the parliament declared that all grants, passed by the king's great seal, after May 22nd, 1642, should be void, and that their own great seal alone should have authority. The year closed with the death of Pym, one of the most bitter, uncompromising opponents of royalty. His death, on December 8th, was hastened by severe application to public duties; his disinterestedness was evident, for he died poor; he was universally regretted by his

party, so that his debts were paid, and the expenses of his funeral defrayed by the public.

In the course of this year, the king and his immediate advisers committed a great error by discountenancing the earls of Bedford, Holland, and Clare, who joined him at Oxford. Sir Edward Deering also found his reception there so discouraging, that he, as well as the three earls, returned to the parliamentarians. As is but too commonly the case, moderate men found themselves discountenanced on both sides ; all this tended to push matters to the painful extent that followed.

The year 1644 began with renewed efforts. In January, forty-four lords, and one hundred and eighteen members of the house of commons, assembled at Oxford ; they proceeded to act as a parliament, but they were prorogued in April, and did not assemble again. In the north, the Scots' army entered Northumberland on January 19th. After an ineffectual attempt upon Newcastle, the siege of which place they were compelled to raise for want of supplies, they posted themselves at Sunderland. There they remained till the middle of April, when the approach of Fairfax, with a strong force, after a successful skirmish at Leeds, having compelled the marquis of Newcastle to retire to York, they joined the parliamentary general, who besieged the city. The king, alarmed at the dangerous state of his affairs in the north, directed his nephew prince Rupert, who had been engaged successfully at Newark, and afterwards in Cheshire and Lancashire, to proceed to Yorkshire, and give battle to the parliamentary forces. Rupert was better qualified for desultory warfare, than for directing the movements of an army. He had just taken Liverpool and relieved the countess of Derby, who distinguished herself by defending Latham House during a siege of four months ; he now hastened to York with a considerable reinforcement. The parliamentary generals

retired from the siege on July 2nd, the ardent prince determined the next day to give them battle on Marston Moor, contrary to the advice of Newcastle and other leaders.

The two armies were each about twenty-five thousand men ; they prepared for battle, but the action did not begin till seven in the evening. The prince charged with his cavalry, carrying all before him as usual, and pursuing his partial success without caring for the rest of the army. The main body of foot then engaged ; the parliamentary forces soon gave way, on which their leaders hastened from the field. But Cromwell, at the head of the regiment of cavalry called his " Ironsides," had obliged the left wing of the royal army to retire ; he returned and attacked the centre of his opponents, who had separated in the assurance of success ; one after another the different bodies of foot were routed and dispersed. One regiment for a time checked his progress ; but their ammunition failing, the circle they had formed was broken, and the whole fell on the field. Rupert now returned, as over cautious as before he had been rash, he did not attempt to renew the conflict, though he had power to do so, but hastened to York. Cromwell remained on the field all night ; it was an anxious interval. In the morning he found himself in undisputed possession of the royal artillery, and one thousand five hundred prisoners. More than four thousand bodies were buried on this bloody field. Cromwell sent after the three fugitive generals ; the Scottish commander, Leven, was found in bed at Leeds, when he wished that he had died in the action. Thus ended the contest of one of those bloody fields in which Englishmen suffered for the national sins. When will it be fully understood that national sins assuredly will, sooner or later, bring down national judgments, and that the swords of conflicting parties are justly made instruments for mutual punishment !

The battle of Marston Moor was decisive against the royal cause in the north of England. The marquis of Newcastle and prince Rupert were on bad terms before the battle: the former, despairing of future success, and disgusted with the prince's injudicious interference with his plans, retired to the continent, while Rupert, with his cavalry, returned westward. The parliamentary army entered York, which surrendered on July the 15th; Fairfax remained there; the earl of Manchester went back to Nottinghamshire; while the Scots retired to Newcastle, of which they took possession.

In the south of England, the early part of the year 1644 was spent in preparation. In May, Essex and Waller marched from London with twenty thousand men, to inclose the king at Oxford: the two leaders did not act in unison, so that the king succeeded in passing between their divisions with a much smaller force, and retired to Worcester. While Essex proceeded to the west, the royal army was followed by Waller; but the king again evaded his force, and, after returning to Oxford, advanced into Buckinghamshire, where he defeated Waller at Cropredy Bridge, on June 29th, and then marched westward after Essex, while the parliament recalled Waller to London.

Meanwhile Essex, having relieved Lyme, proceeded towards Exeter, from whence the queen fled with a newly born infant daughter; she escaped to France, after the general had refused to allow her to proceed to Bath or Bristol, though he offered her a safe conduct to London. Essex went onward into Cornwall, where he was surrounded in August, near Foy, by the king and his forces. The cavalry broke through, but he left his army, and sailed in a boat for Plymouth, and Skippon capitulated. The troops were allowed to retire to Hampshire, on giving up their arms and equipments. Essex went to London, where he demanded an inquiry concerning his



proceedings, and the conduct of those who, he said, ought to have furnished troops to attack the royalists that inclosed him; but the parliament expressed satisfaction with his services. From this time his power declined, while the influence of Cromwell rapidly increased, though he did not yet take a prominent part in parliamentary proceedings.

The summer was now ended. The king pressed his march upon London; but, while he proceeded to Newbury, the united forces of Essex, Waller, and Manchester occupied Reading, and, on October 27th, attacked the royal forces. After a severe, but doubtful action, the royal army marched to Wallingford, and afterwards offered battle, which was refused.

The parliamentary generals quarrelled, and incurred censure among their own party. The armies went into winter quarters, when an inquiry into the past proceedings was begun in parliament. Cromwell charged Manchester with being averse to end the war by a victory, while an attack was made upon him for censuring the Presbyterians. The latter now began to be supplanted by the Independents, whose principles of general toleration were more correct and popular. It was voted that the whole of the parliamentary forces should be re-organized in an efficient manner. Cromwell was much displeased both with Manchester and Essex. After he had censured past proceedings, Tate and Vane brought forward the measure, subsequently known as "the self-denying ordinance," by which all members of the houses of parliament were prevented from holding any civil or military offices, urging that the nation blamed the parliament for the continuance of the war, the end of which could not be expected while so many members derived power and profit from its continuance. The friends of Essex sought to exempt him from the result, but were outvoted by a small majority; before the end of January, an arrangement, or new model was completed, re-organizing the army,

under the command of Fairfax and Skippon. Cromwell had not hesitated to risk his own command, to carry his proposed measure into effect, which eventually deprived the Presbyterian party, who still ruled in the house of commons, of the support of the army, and threw the power into the hands of the new general. The earl of Essex did not long survive the loss of his command. He died in September, 1646 ; his funeral was attended by the members of the parliament ; the expense being defrayed at the public charge.

Here a brief account must be given of the extraordinary individual soon after raised to the supreme authority. Cromwell was born of a very respectable family in Huntingdonshire. His uncle, sir Oliver Cromwell, received king James at his seat at Hinchinbrook, on that monarch's first journey to the capital, with such liberal profusion, that the monarch declared he had not been so well treated since he left Edinburgh, and before his coronation, created this liberal entertainer a knight of the Bath. Sir Oliver was, ever after, distinguished for loyalty to the house of Stuart. His younger brother Robert had an estate of about 300*l.* per annum, on which he lived quietly till his death in 1617. Oliver, the eldest surviving son of Robert, was born in 1599, and early showed symptoms of an active, uncontrollable spirit. He was at the university of Cambridge for a short time, where he was not wholly negligent of learning, though his conduct was dissolute there, and still more so afterwards in London ; but he seems to have been early reclaimed, and married respectably at the age of twenty-one. In 1625, he was one of the members for Huntingdon ; in the house he soon became distinguished as a favourer of the Nonconformists, showing his desire to support them when again a member of parliament, in 1628. In 1631, he parted with his patrimonial property at Huntingdon, and cultivated a grazing farm at St. Ives, where he

resided for about five years, well esteemed by his neighbours, appearing decidedly religious, though not pleased with, or acceptable to, the clergy. By the death of his mother's uncle, in 1636, he succeeded to a considerable property in Ely, where he settled.

The attention of Cromwell was now more strongly directed to his past life ; in a letter to a relative, in 1639, he says :—" You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh ! I lived in and loved darkness, and hated the light ; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true. I hated godliness ; yet God had mercy on me." A mind, thus impressed, could not be indifferent to the proceedings of the times ; but again directing his attention to political measures, in 1640 he obtained a seat in the parliament for Cambridge, by his popularity for opposing the draining of the fens, and perhaps by some artifices. He now fully embarked in public life.

It is not easy to describe satisfactorily the character of one who has been so variously represented, it is best to let his actions speak for themselves. He was one of those characters in middle life whose energies are called forth by circumstances, at the period when they are most matured. The particulars recorded by his biographers, fully show that he had long opposed the proceedings of the royal party, thus he naturally followed the course already adopted, without any deep or crafty pre-arrangement ; for, whatever may be said of Cromwell's turbulence and ambition, it is not possible that he or any one, at that time could have formed a distinct design to usurp the sovereign power. When the appeal to arms was certain, he obtained a commission to raise a troop of horse, which he commanded at Edge Hill. The next year he obtained a colonel's commission, and soon had a regiment composed of freeholders and their sons, who served from religious or political feeling, not as mercenaries. He distinguished himself by the relief of Gainsborough, and was second

in command to the earl of Manchester, the general of the associated eastern counties, in the successful operations before the battle of Marston Moor, which, as already related, was gained by the valour and ability of Cromwell. His religious views led him to support the Independents rather than the Presbyterians; and though any piety with which his mind appears at one time to have been imbued, must have declined previous to, or in consequence of, his military and political efforts, yet there is no room to charge him with being merely a dissembling hypocrite. The following view of this part of his character is worthy of notice, the rather as it comes from one who cannot be accused of partiality to the principles of Cromwell, either in religion or otherwise :—"Though he freely associated with his men, he never forfeited their attachment or obedience; he prayed and fought at their head; and, by his courage, and decision, and good fortune, was soon distinguished as one of the most promising of the parliamentary officers. It has been said, that he was a dissembler from the beginning, who sought to conceal the workings of his ambition under the affectation of superior piety. But I can discover no sufficient ground for the charge. He appears to have felt that religious fanaticism which he so fearlessly displayed, and to have owed his first rise towards greatness, more to his zeal in the cause, and the native energy of his mind, than to any views of personal interest or aggrandisement."

The expense of the war was severely felt by the nation in general. On the king's side, it was chiefly defrayed by what money he could raise on the jewels of the crown, and the plate of the universities, with the aid of many of the wealthy supporters of his cause, chiefly voluntary, but sometimes constrained. The marquis of Worcester willingly supplied not less than 100,000*l*. The royal forces also plundered and raised contributions wherever they were quartered. The parliament exacted larger amounts, but in a more

orderly way, and with less waste or personal suffering. In addition to the voluntary subscriptions which almost all its supporters contributed in money or valuables, large monthly assessments were made. This gave rise to the land tax. The excise was now first established, it embraced a long list of articles, even flesh-meat, bread, and salt. Another tax required every one to fast from one meal a week, and to pay the amount : in six years this raised 600,000*l*. Upon the whole, the sums thus exacted were far beyond any former taxation, and very far above the amounts the king had sought to raise during the intervals of the parliaments.

During the winter of 1644-5, negotiations for peace were set on foot, on the proposal of the king, who unwillingly gave the title of parliament to his opponents, and did it with a sort of mental reservation. Commissioners met at Uxbridge ; but what the parliament demanded, especially on ecclesiastical points by requiring the abolition of episcopacy, also the committing of the power over the army and navy to the two houses, was more than the king could be prevailed upon to concede. The conferences ended in a few weeks without success, each party preparing for renewed warfare.

Another event, much to be regretted, was the execution of archbishop Laud. After a long, protracted trial before the small remainder of the house of lords, when their unwillingness to declare him a traitor was ascertained, a bill of attainder was brought into the commons, by which he was condemned for treason. The lords interfered to soften the malice of his enemies, so far as to prevent his suffering the extreme penalties of the law against traitors. He was beheaded on January 10th, 1645, in his last hours evincing much firmness and a Christian spirit ; we would trust that he then really felt what his last words stated, his desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, Phil. i. 23, referring to the knowledge

TREATY HOUSE, EXETER.



of Jesus Christ alone, as the sole foundation for assurance.

Of the allegations against Laud, those relative to his conduct in the Star Chamber court are the most serious. His open breach of the constitution by that judicature, and his acts of oppression under its sanction, were visited with yet more severe punishment, by a proceeding which must also be considered as beyond the law ; and truth requires to refer to his end as illustrating the words of Scripture, that "evil shall hunt the violent man to everthrow him," Psa. cxl. 11. At the distance of two hundred years from this painful event, surely it ought to be examined with some degree of impartiality. It must be admitted on the one hand, that Laud's oppressive conduct and ill-judged proceedings were disastrous to the nation, and brought his own sufferings upon him : on the other, that the proceedings of his enemies cannot be approved ; they acted against him with unchristian vindictiveness ; and though it cannot be called innocent blood, yet his blood ought not to have been shed. His errors were serious ; they assisted to drive the country into a wretched state, still every object that even his enemies could fairly desire, might have been otherwise accomplished.

The university of Cambridge being in the power of the parliamentarians, was visited in January, 1644, when those most attached to the royal cause, and to episcopalian principles, were expelled, to the number of two hundred, including several heads of colleges. Oxford was still in the power of the king, whose head quarters it was ; a great part of the funds of the university and of the colleges was placed at his disposal, while the pursuits of learning, and theological studies were little regarded amidst the din of arms. As the prophet Ezekiel denounced, in Israel of old, the word of the Lord was gone forth against the shepherds of the people.

## CHARLES I.

## PART III.

FROM A.D. 1645, TO A.D. 1649.

THE armies prepared to take the field in 1645 were, in many respects, of a different character from those formerly assembled. The parliamentary troops had more of the spirit of Cromwell; they were fierce and hard men, exhibiting much religious enthusiasm. The Presbyterians and old Puritans, who at first were numerous, both as officers and chaplains, were now mostly dismissed or withdrawn; the present leaders were determined to press to the uttermost against royalty, while the places of the ministers were supplied for the most part by such officers and soldiers as were able to deliver exhortations, or to lead in prayer. Rough as these men were, they maintained discipline, while their courage was animated by their enthusiastic spirit; and the parliament possessing the greatest resources as to money and supplies, and having the greater measure of popular support, their army was efficient, and prepared for warfare. It was evident that the warfare was about to assume a new character, both the king and the Presbyterians had allowed their angry feelings to pass by all the opportunities for reconciliation; another and sterner party were about to assume the ascendancy.

On the other side, the necessities of the royalists, with the dissolute habits of such leaders as Rupert, Goring, and Grenville, strengthened their inclination for rapine; the soldiers were disorderly, little to be depended upon in regular combat, but especial terrors to all, wherever they came, treating friend and foe nearly alike. Lord Culpepper wrote to colonel Digby, "Good men are so scandalized at the horrid impiety of our armies, that they will not believe that




God can bless any cause in such hands." The centre, west, and north of England, were now agitated by the war; small parties frequently took arms, and a series of local conflicts ensued; the towns sending out combatants for the parliament, while the principal landholders and their country tenants supported the royal cause.

During the preceding autumn and winter, the earl of Montrose, who formerly was attached to the popular cause in Scotland, but now engaged for the king, had carried on active warfare there. A series of romantic successes under great disadvantages, enabled him to appear as conqueror in almost every part of the northern and central districts; but the spring saw him again confined to the mountainous parts, without any traces of his victorious career, excepting the results of the severe sufferings inflicted by the forces of both parties, especially by the soldiery of Montrose.

In May, the royal army left Oxford. After relieving Chester it marched to Leicester, which town was taken by storm, and given up to be plundered. Fairfax contrived to retain Cromwell in the army, and after an unsuccessful attempt upon Oxford, turned to meet the king. The royal advisers, with their usual imprudence, induced Charles to refuse to summon his troops from the west, and persuaded him to make an attack upon the parliamentary army at Naseby, near Market Harborough, although informed that the newly organized forces under Fairfax were anxious for a battle.

A decisive battle was fought on the 14th of June. The action began with much fierceness; Rupert succeeded on the one side, and Cromwell on the other; but the former, as usual, left the field in pursuit, and on his return refused to charge, though personally urged by the king; while Cromwell, after routing sir Marmaduke Langdale's horse, restraining his troopers, turned upon the royal infantry who had been suc-



cessful, and they could not stand. The king lost his artillery and baggage, with his private papers; not many of his soldiers were slain in the field, but more perished in the pursuit. This defeat may be said to have ended all hopes of success for the royalists, though only a few days before the king had considered his affairs to be in a promising state.

The parliament caused many of the papers and private letters of the king and queen to be published. These could not be disavowed; but the king complained that others were kept back, which would have tended to explain some things that reflected upon him. The publication certainly weakened the royal cause. From the field of battle, Cromwell wrote to the speaker of the house of commons, concluding thus: "I wish this action may begett thankfulness and humilytye in all that are concerned in it. He that ventors he's life for the libertye of his countrie, I wish hee trust God for the libertye of his conscience, and you for the libertye Hee fights for, for thus Hee rests whoe is your most humble seruant, Oliver Cromwell." The plea for liberty of conscience was urged by the Independents, who on this point showed far more of a Christian spirit than the Presbyterians.

Charles bore adversity far better than prosperity; he from this time manifested a patient firmness, which even his followers did not rightly estimate. After the battle of Naseby he retired to Cardiff, where he waited in the vain expectation of raising an army from those districts, already exhausted by his own troops, instead of repairing at once to his army still in force in the west. At Cardiff, he received the particulars of his disasters. Leicester surrendered to the victors, while, shortly after, Goring was defeated at Langport by Fairfax, on July 10th. This was followed by the surrender of Bridgewater and other places, so that the royal supporters were now chiefly confined within the two western counties. In the

north, also, several fortresses occupied by royal garrisons were obliged to surrender. The military counsellors of Charles considered his case as hopeless, and advised him to make terms with the parliament: they cared little for the ecclesiastical matters to which the king chiefly looked, but he wrote in August, a declaration that it was his determination never to yield up the government of the church to Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents, or to leave the military power exercised by his predecessors diminished.

The royal hopes were now chiefly fixed upon Montrose in Scotland, and on vain expectations of an army from Ireland. The latter seems to account partly for the king's strange inactivity at this period, which completed the ruin of his cause. This aid was hoped for from the exertions of lord Herbert, a Papist, who went to Ireland early in the year, with a secret commission to make concessions to the Papists, and obtain an army from them to serve the royal cause in England. But Popery can never be satisfied: the weakness of the king caused them to raise their demands too high. Charles went very far; he created Herbert earl of Glamorgan, and promised to confirm his engagements, "even though contrary to law." He gave him letters for the pope and his nuncio, taking care, however, that the papers should be so prepared as to give pretexts for disavowing them in case of need. The negotiation proceeded, the Papists had nearly carried their point, not only of toleration, but of ascendancy, when copies of these documents were found in the possession of the popish prelate of Tuam, who was slain while heading some Irish in an attack on Sligo. The envoy was then disavowed, and the negotiation which had been protracted so as to prevent any benefit to the king, was further delayed; while the feeling against the king in England was increased by this attempt to bring a body of brutal popish soldiers into England. Already the parlia-

ment had ordered that no quarter should be given to the Irish: it is painful to see how the progress of war rendered even those who had professed to contend for Christian principles and objects, indifferent to acts of blood; but when such is the case, success cannot ultimately be hoped for.

The approach of the Scottish army toward Hereford, in August, obliged the king to retire to the centre of the kingdom. After a short inroad into the nearest of the associated eastern counties, he returned to Oxford. Here he heard of the temporary success of Montrose, which recalled a part of the Scottish army then hastening to Hereford. He was enabled to compel the rest to retire; but was grievously disappointed when preparing to relieve Bristol, to learn that it had been unduly and precipitately surrendered by Rupert, after a siege of only a few days. The king felt this as the severest blow yet inflicted, declaring that it gave him more grief than any previous misfortune; the commissions of the prince were revoked, and he was commanded to quit the kingdom. The loss of Bristol was followed by the defeat of Montrose at Philipshaugh, in September, by the cavalry who had returned from England, when the royalists were, for the most part, refused quarter, or executed after the action in cold blood; they had ravaged the country, during their campaigns, but the retaliation was unchristian, and wholly unjustifiable. Montrose for some time lingered in the Highlands, but the king, despairing of success, ordered him to disband his few attendants, and he escaped to the continent.

During this campaign, the efforts on both sides chiefly rested on the cavalry, which accounts for the rapid transfers of the scenes of action. In the latter part of September, the king endeavoured to succour Chester, but after losing a great part of his troopers in an action with Pointz, retired to Bridgenorth with the rest. He was urged to remain at Worcester; but,



BROAD STREET, BRISTOL.

on the mistaken counsel of lord Digby, advanced again to Newark. From thence the royalist cavalry of the northern counties were detached to make an effort to join Montrose. They were at first successful in action near Doncaster, and then defeated at Sherburne, but succeeded in reaching Dumfries; the Scottish royalists, however, could not be found in any sufficient force to give hopes of success. Digby and Langdale retired to Carlisle, where they dismissed the privates, while the officers took refuge in the Isle of Man. Thus the royal army was weakened, without any beneficial result elsewhere. Digby's papers being taken by his pursuers, were published; they gave much information respecting the proceedings of the queen and of the royal agents.

Dissensions followed the want of success; Rupert forced himself into the king's presence. After something very like mutiny, the royal nephews and many officers retired from the service. The enemies' troops were at hand; in the close of October, Charles was forced to make his way with secrecy, and some difficulty, to Oxford, which still remained open, the parliamentary army having proceeded westward, where Fairfax besieged Exeter.

The main hope of the king was now placed in the disputes among his antagonists. These arose from the opposition to Presbyterianism by the Independents, which was, in fact, a difference between the parliamentary leaders and those of the army; the latter having triumphed in the field, now began to interfere with the former. The Presbyterians sought to take the place of the established church, and to rule with even additional rigour; the Independents expecting no favour from the change, rightfully contended for liberty of conscience; their views were supported by the military leaders, who had their own private ends chiefly in view. This gave rise to a jealous feeling between the parliamentary and Scottish armies. The king thought, that by giving his

countenance for a time to one party, he might overcome the other, and eventually destroy both; he therefore negotiated with both. The Scots were willing to treat, if he would accept the terms proposed at Uxbridge; his own queen and the French court urged him to accept these, caring little for the English ecclesiastical establishment. Charles leaned rather to the Independents, whose present demand was only for toleration; but they ultimately desired the overturning of all kingly power, while the Presbyterians would tolerate monarchy, though only in a subservient state, changed so as to carry out their peculiar views in ecclesiastical matters, as well as to confirm the political measures they contended for.

Each of the three parties was intent on its own objects, and both the parliamentary divisions declined the king's request for renewed conferences. It was evident that if the king continued to lose strength he must fall, whichever of the others might ultimately prevail. Montreuil, the French envoy, negotiated with the Scots, and warned Charles that he had not a moment to lose; still he refused to be guided by this advice, and renewed his request for conferences at Westminster, under his own superintendence; but copies of the secret papers relative to lord Herbert's mission were made public at this juncture, and increased the feeling against the king, when he did not hesitate to disavow the plan and the engagements. There was, however, another document not generally known—the king's engagement to confirm whatever arrangement Herbert might make. Charles did not scruple to declare he did not recollect having given any such power, and that at most it was only limited. Well has the wisest of monarchs declared, "Bread of deceit is sweet to a man; but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel. The lip of truth shall be established for ever; but a lying tongue is but for a moment," Prov. xx. 17; xii. 19. But this

was only one among many instances of the want of straightforward sincerity in the unhappy monarch, which characteristic was so well known, as to excite the suspicions of those parties in the English parliament with whom he was secretly negotiating.

To conclude the account of Herbert's negotiation. He was imprisoned at Dublin, upon a charge of high treason, for intercourse with the Papists; he exculpated himself by producing the king's secret instructions. Being released, he resumed the treaty, and though the nuncio objected to any thing short of the open recognition of the Romish religion, he succeeded in obtaining the promise of some forces. However, the hearty concurrence of the Papists to support Charles was not to be expected; for the secretary of the pope blamed the nuncio who had advised the Irish Papists to be loyal; he was told that the holy see could not approve of allegiance being paid to any heretical prince! While assembling the troops at Waterford, Herbert heard that the king publicly disavowed his proceedings; this was followed by news of the surrender of Chester, which town he had intended to relieve; then intelligence came of the dispersion of the last royal army in Cornwall, in March, 1646, so that no place was left at which he could secure a landing, nor any probability of being useful; he therefore gave up any further attempts.

During the year 1645, many of the later military proceedings of both parties had been interfered with by the increase of associations, chiefly in the western counties, generally called "clubmen," which originated with the countrymen, who joined together to prevent their crops and other property being destroyed, and their moveables and persons injured by the soldiery. One of their standards bore this inscription :—

" If ye offer to plunder or take our cattle  
Be you assured we'll give you battle."



They were united to protect property against the plunderers of both parties; some were armed, others had only clubs, or such rustic weapons as might be at hand. On the approach of any roving military forces, they assembled, often in large numbers, interposing to prevent conflicts, and, if possible, disarming any soldiers whom they might meet. The gentry encouraged these bands; they were often of great use in preventing rapine, particularly from the king's troops, who were encouraged to excesses by many of their leaders, while the parliamentary commanders sought to maintain stricter discipline. Though the clubmen professed opposition to both parties, attempts were made to render them subservient to the royal cause, and the parliament ordered them to be suppressed. The plan, however, was commendable in many respects: should the English nation ever again be scourged with civil warfare, it is to be hoped that the great body of the people will unite to suppress the attempts of all plunderers and designing men, whatever their profession may be. The poet's lines—

“ War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,  
Kings would not play at,”

are equally applicable to political parties, and to all leaders of unhallowed strife between brethren of the same nation, stirred up by needy and desperate adventurers on both sides. It is very painful to see the lengths to which men of general good sense, and possessing property to lose, will allow themselves to be carried by others, whose only care is to make a paltry gain for themselves, at the expense of those whom they flatter and stimulate to quarrel and to injure one another.

The parliament being conqueror, proceeded to strengthen itself by rewarding its supporters; for this purpose the estates of the leading royalists were forfeited, or heavily charged with fines; from the funds

thus obtained considerable grants were made to Essex, Fairfax, and others. An attempt was made to give titles of nobility to some, but this failed: neither the peers on the one hand, nor the determined republicans on the other, approved such proceedings. The king conferred titles on some of his supporters, which could not be resisted—the monarch being the lawful source of honour—though the parliament demanded that such titles should be revoked. The number of members in the house of commons being much reduced, the speaker was directed to issue writs, by which more than two hundred new members were returned; many of whom were Independents, whose party was rapidly increasing.

The last body of the royal forces that kept the field was under the command of lord Astley. On his being defeated and taken prisoner in an action at Stow-on-the-Wold, March 21st, 1646, he told the victors that they had now done their work, and might go and play, unless they chose to fall out among themselves. The king relied on such an event, and in January wrote, "Let not my enemies flatter themselves so with their good successes. Without pretending to prophesy, I will foretell their ruin, except they agree with me, however it shall please God to dispose of me."

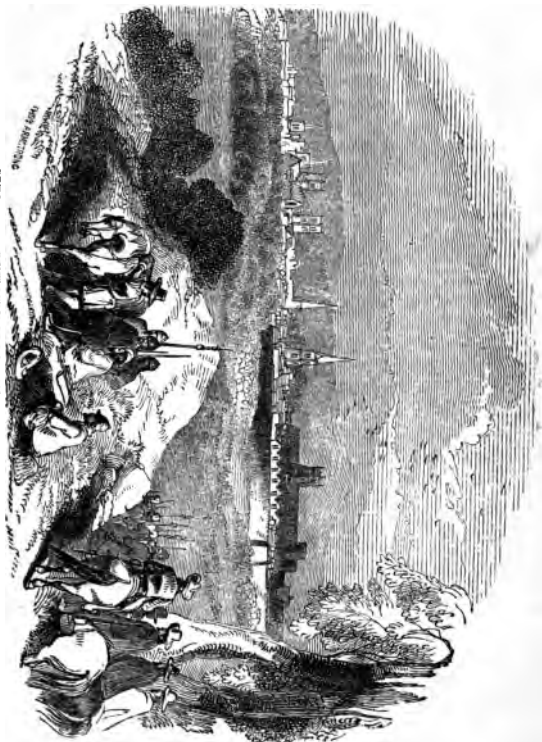
Such a result might be expected; but Charles did not sufficiently consider that it could not be looked for immediately, and that his own interference or tampering with the different parties, when discovered, as it doubtless must be, would rather tend to unite than to separate them. Nor had he the ability required to control circumstances, or influence the minds of others, and rightly to judge of opportunities.

Distrust of the king's sincerity, with the full belief that his power was wholly gone, caused the parliament to neglect and leave unanswered his repeated propositions to be allowed to proceed to London to negotiate, though he offered full toleration to all who

dissented from the church, to give up for a time nearly the whole of his authority, and to disband his army. The leaders well knew that his presence would afford an opportunity for intrigues, and promote discord; they therefore ordered, that if he came to London, he should be taken to St. James's Palace, and kept there, without allowing access to him. This neglect of his offers induced the king to close with the proposals of the Scots, made through the French envoy Montreuil. They promised to receive him as their king, and that his followers should be protected; also to use their best endeavours to procure a peace that should be "happy and well grounded." They, indeed, required that Presbyterianism should be established in the three kingdoms, while the king would only consent to its being adopted in Scotland, with a promise to listen to farther instruction on the subject. On this agreement the king determined to proceed to the Scots army, then besieging Newark. All was prepared by April 1st, and Montreuil went to the Scots with an order for the surrender of Newark, but found them hesitate. Farther negotiations were carried on: it was agreed that the king should be received, but not as by a previous arrangement. Meanwhile, the king, with his accustomed insincerity, attempted to treat with the Independents, assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in rooting out the tyrannical government of Presbyterianism. Of this the Scottish commissioners were aware, but thought it an artful scheme to detain the king at Oxford till Fairfax should arrive from the west, and besiege that city.

Oxford was strongly fortified, and might have held out for some months; but as there was no probability of relief, it was useless for the king to remain there. Finding all efforts to obtain an assurance of personal safety from the parliamentary troops ineffectual, he left Oxford at midnight, on April 26th, disguised as a servant, with Ashburnham and clergyman

CITY OF OXFORD.—FROM AN OLD DRAWING.



named Hudson, well acquainted with the roads and by-ways, and provided with the pass of a parliamentary officer. They proceeded towards London, and stopped at Harrow; nothing transpiring to induce the king to enter the metropolis, he turned northward, and passing by Harborough and Stamford, reached Downham, in Norfolk, where he inquired in vain for a ship to take him to the north. Hudson, meanwhile, proceeded to the Scottish head quarters, and though he could obtain no written document, returned with a verbal promise for the fulfilment of the terms already mentioned. The king arrived on May 5th at the head quarters of the Scottish army; the leaders pretended to be much surprised, but treated him with outward respect.

The war was now completely at an end. Oxford and the few other royal garrisons surrendered, the marquis of Worcester being almost the last who lowered the royal standard, on August 19th. Harlech Castle held out till the April following. In Oxford, which surrendered June 20th, were the young children of the king, the dukes of York and Gloucester, and the princess Henrietta. Here justice should be done to the conduct of the English parliament: these royal children were placed with the duke of Northumberland, with a yearly allowance of 7,500*l.* to provide for them according to their rank. In this and in many other matters, the Briton must rejoice in contrasting the proceedings of the English parliament with the more recent conduct of the French convention. Fairfax acted with great moderation, giving honourable terms; the leaders in parliament wisely abstained from cruel measures, allowing the great body of the royalists to make compositions on terms which, though severe, were far short of absolute ruin. The usual fine was two years' rent.

From this time, the parliament directed that most of the castles and fortifications should be thrown down, a measure more important for the peace of the

country than might at first be supposed. It effectually prevented any long-continued warfare within our country, and for two centuries the land has not known the horrors of a civil contest. At times, internal discord has agitated the land, but merely as a momentary outbreak. Local commotions have been the worst intestine disturbances we or our immediate fathers have known. May this mercy be continued, though it has been so lightly esteemed that we deserve to be chastened with the scourge of civil war.

The king entered into a long theological discussion respecting Presbyterianism, with Henderson the chief of the Scottish preachers. The latter would only allow the authority of Scripture to decide the subject; and Charles well knew the deep effects at that period produced by the pulpit, which kept him firm in refusing any concession that would give the ruling ecclesiastical power to those who opposed episcopacy. Proposals for peace were not finally made to the king till the end of July. They were more severe and contrary to his interest than any yet offered; he declined an immediate answer, stating it was his intention to proceed to Westminster, and there confer with the parliament. He now found what advantages he had given his opponents, and wished to escape from the Scottish army.

The virtual rejection of the terms offered by the Presbyterians, strengthened the Independents, who were determined to put Charles from the throne, and to substitute a popular form of government; or if that were impracticable, to make a nominal king of the duke of York, who had been taken at Oxford. The Scots declared their intention not to support the king's views, but even to retire to their own country, if a sufficient compensation were offered for what they had done and expended. On September 5th, this sum was fixed at 400,000*l*. During the interval, the king continued to hope for help from Ireland, by a renewal of the

treaty through lord Herbert. He sent an open communication to Ormond, to break off negotiating with the Romanists ; but secretly he sent commands to Herbert to obey the former instructions, writing thus :—" If, in any future time, I fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next." The moderate Romish laity arranged terms, but a synod of Popish ecclesiastics denounced the proposed peace, and obtaining support, were about to besiege Dublin, when Ormond finding he could not resist them, preferred surrendering that city to the parliament ; he did so on favourable terms, February 22nd, 1647.

To return to the proceedings in England. A controversy between the leaders of the two nations arose during the autumn of 1646, the English parliamentarians contending that that body alone could rightfully dispose of the king ; while the Scots urged that, as a nation, they also had an interest in him ; and in the Scottish parliament a vote was proposed, that they should support his right to the English throne. These discussions continued till December, the king occupying himself with framing various expedients to unite Episcopacy and Presbyterianism ; but all was brought to a point by the vote of both houses on the last day of the year, that the king should reside at Holmby, a magnificent house built by the chancellor Hatton, and purchased in the reign of James I. for the residence of Charles when duke of York.

The only assurance given the king was a declaration that his majesty should be treated, according to the covenant, with respect to the safety and preservation of his person. The Scottish leaders made some show of opposition ; but this was withdrawn when they had completed their negotiation with the parliament. The sum of 200,000*l.* being paid, which was half the amount settled some time previously for

arrears, the king was given to the care of the commissioners appointed by parliament on January 30th, 1647. The Scottish army then retired into Scotland, while the monarch was conducted, with outward respect, to Holmby, near Northampton; where he arrived on February 15th, being received with demonstrations of respect, and by a large concourse of country people.

Much odium has been thrown upon the Scots, for thus, as it were, making a bargain and sale of their king. There can be no question, but that having possession of his person enabled them to make their arrangement the more satisfactory; but it must be remembered, that they had not induced him to come to their army. They did not neglect what they considered his interests, in their negotiations with the parliament; and they did not give him up till retaining him longer would have led to war between the two nations. Even the king's friends thought that by the king's removal to Holmby, the pretext for keeping both armies on foot would be done away, and that by the disbanding of the English soldiery, the power of the parliament, still chiefly in the hands of the Presbyterians, would be increased, and that of the Independents, with those determined on the destruction of the monarch, would be weakened.

By this time, the scheme for settling ecclesiastical affairs on a Presbyterian system was arranged. This displeased the friends of monarchy and Episcopacy, as well as the Independents in religion, and those who wished a republican government. Also it alarmed the legal profession, who were apprehensive of the ecclesiastical powers claimed by the Presbyterian clergy; as well as the great mass of irreligious persons, who were averse to the moral discipline enforced under that system. All these opposed such a settlement, and added influence to Cromwell; while the rigid Presbyterians objected to an ecclesiastical settlement by the civil power, the ecclesiastics claiming



the right of interfering in matters of moral conduct, thus pushing forward their claims, nearly upon the system the church of Rome had pursued in such matters. It was during these debates that the king took refuge in the Scottish army, when a compromise was attempted, under which the Presbyterian system was established in London and in Lancashire; the strength of that party was farther weakened by the death of the earl of Essex, but was reinforced by obtaining possession of the king's person, and the year 1646 closed with matters in this uncertain state. A great change, indeed, had been effected; royalty seemed to be prostrated: but evidently a contest for the spoils had already begun to divide the victors.

The king was closely watched at Holmby, though he was allowed to amuse and employ himself as he chose, and to make excursions in the neighbourhood; but his request for the attendance of his own chaplains was refused, and he would not be present at the Presbyterian worship. The right principles of religious toleration do not appear to have been much better understood in this century than in the preceding. Laud and his supporters had set an example of intolerance; the Presbyterians now having the ascendancy, deceived themselves into similar proceedings, both towards the Episcopalians and the Independents, as well as others claiming liberty of conscience. The assembly of divines having completed a directory for public worship, commanded it should be read in all the churches: it was, however, rather to direct the order of worship, than to supply the precise words to be used. The using of the liturgy, even in a private house, subjected to fine and imprisonment, a proceeding directly intolerant.

After three months had passed without any terms being offered by the parliament, the king wrote to that body, stating his proposals. These were, to allow the Presbyterian system to be established for three years, and to give up the command of the army

and navy for ten years to persons named by parliament. But that body was now involved in new difficulties ; they had determined to disband the army, excepting some regiments for Ireland, and the garrisons and six thousand troopers in England, dismissing all the leaders except Fairfax, and requiring all other officers to take the Presbyterian league and covenant. It was easier to make these resolutions than to carry them into effect. The command of the army was nominally given to Fairfax, but in reality, Cromwell exercised the chief control, and he determined that the army should not succumb to the parliament ; in this he was supported by the officers and soldiery in general. Two councils were established, to which the different corps sent representatives under the name of "agitators." One was composed of officers, the other chiefly of privates. These councils resolved, that they were not a band of mercenaries, hired only to fight, but that they had taken up arms for the liberty and defence of the nation, and that the army should not be dispersed till all their arrears were settled, and full satisfaction given for liberty of conscience, which, they said, with some justice, was the ground of the quarrel, and that there was now greater persecution under Presbyterianism than there had been under the bishops. They strengthened the army by enlisting many of the royalist soldiers, and assumed a posture very alarming to the parliamentary leaders, who passed more votes, and sent commissions to enforce the disbanding of the army. But Hollis and his friends soon found that they had gone too far, and that it was impossible to carry their votes into effect, though they had partly provided for the payment of the arrears. They had also condemned a petition, complaining of various grievances, tithes, and church government, drawn up by the Independents in the metropolis, addressed "to the right honourable and supreme authority of the nation, the Commons in parliament assembled." This was the

farthest step yet made towards republicanism. Fairfax warned the parliamentary leaders that their plans respecting the army must fail, and refused to forward the orders for disbanding, which the party of Hollis still thought could be carried into effect. Cromwell retained his place in the house, where he pretended to speak against the agitation in the army, though he secretly fomented it. His dissimulation was seen through, and the leaders of the parliament determined to send him prisoner to the Tower ; but he had notice of their intention, and retired to the army.

On the same day, June 3rd, Joyce, a cornet of the general's regiment, appeared at Holmby, very early in the morning, with about fifty troopers, and demanded access to the king. Being asked for his authority, he pointed to his armed band ; the king, after saying that it was a new sort of commission, though a legible one, consented to be removed to the army, then at Newmarket. This proceeding avowedly came from the council of agitators, but Cromwell was supposed to be the contriver ; the king seems not to have been unwilling to be removed, on being assured of his life and liberty of conscience. Fairfax met the king near Cambridge, and tried to persuade him to return to Holmby, but Charles refused. The unhappy monarch evidently looked for advantage to himself from the crisis now at hand : but he proved to be merely an instrument for each of the contending parties to use, as they could get him into their power ; he soon found that his confidence in the army was misplaced.

At Newmarket, the army, by a solemn engagement, authorized the determinations of the council of agitators ; it then marched towards London, in spite of the votes of the parliament to the contrary, and quartered in and near Uxbridge. A muster was held on Tripplow Heath, where Fairfax read a communication from the parliament, designed to restrain the

approach of the army, and to conciliate them; but the troops refused to receive these communications. While on their march, at St. Albans, they had resolved to require that a time for ending the parliament should be fixed, and that Hollis, with ten others of the leading party, should be tried for having endeavoured to excite discord between the army and the parliament. Finding resistance to the army was in vain, the accused members concealed themselves; commissioners were appointed to negotiate, and the king had the imprudence to tell Fairfax, he had more interest with the army than himself.

During these proceedings, the king, who moved with the army, was treated with much respect; his chaplains were allowed to attend him, and he was permitted to see his younger children. Sir John Berkeley and Ashburnham came over from France, flattering themselves that they could influence the commanders of the army. They were allowed free access to their monarch, the officers declaring that the king was with them by his free choice, not as a prisoner.

Cromwell and his party went on to strengthen themselves: they next determined to obtain the control of the city. The parliament resisted, while an effort was made by the citizens to render themselves independent of both. They proposed a new engagement, to bring the king to Westminster to confer on the terms he sent from Holmby; this being voted treasonable by the houses, the mob, secretly strengthened by well wishers to the king, beset the doors, and enforced a vote to their satisfaction. But an adjournment followed, during which the speakers and a few members withdrew; a rendezvous of the army being appointed on Hounslow Heath, they appeared there, demanding protection. The king removed to Hampton Court, and some troops took possession of Southwark, upon which the citizens submitted, when the speakers returned to their

places, some regiments being quartered at Westminster. This was on August the 6th: the next day, Fairfax and Cromwell marched with the army through London, settling matters so as to give their party the preponderance in the house of commons and in the city.

The leaders of the army had by this time arranged their proposals, which defined and limited future parliaments, and matters connected therewith; leaving the exercise of religion on an equality as to the liturgy and the covenant, other matters being much as the king had proposed at Holmby. Berkeley and Ashburnham were anxious he should assent; had he done so, he might probably have again been treated as a monarch, though with very limited powers, yet with more than the former parliamentary leaders would have allowed. But he still clung to the belief that by finessing between the two parties, he might give the law to both, and refused the terms thus offered, weakly declaring to the officers who brought them, that they could not do without him, but would fall to ruin if he did not sustain them. Berkeley cautioned against this imprudence; but it was too late. This course was very injurious to his interest. Cromwell and Ireton openly told Ashburnham of his private treaties with the Presbyterians and the Scots, affirming that they could prove this by letters of the queen and himself in their possession, which "did very much justify the general misfortune he lived under of having the reputation of little faith in his dealings." A romantic story is told, of a letter from the king to the queen being intercepted by Cromwell and Ireton, in the disguise of troopers.

By this time the army had established their authority. Displeased with his manœuvring, they treated the king with less respect, although he was allowed to enjoy the same liberty, upon his word that he would not escape. Terms being again suggested by the Scottish commissioners in September, Charles

signified his willingness to treat on the plan lately offered : deliberations were entered into, which lasted two months, the king still treating secretly with the Presbyterians. The Scottish army, it was proposed, should enter England the next spring, to be joined by the royalists. Cromwell and his party having detected this additional duplicity, did not hesitate to complain of it. Mrs. Hutchinson says, "To speak the truth of all, Cromwell was at that time so uncorruptibly faithful to his trust and the people's interest, that he could not be drawn in to practise even his own usual and natural dissimulations on this occasion. His son-in-law, Ireton, who was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion, (till he had tried it and found to the contrary,) but that the king might have been managed to comply with the public good of the people, after he could no longer uphold his own violent will ; but upon some discourses with him, the king uttering these words to him, ' I shall play my game as well as I can,' Ireton replied, ' If your majesty have a game to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.' Colonel Hutchinson, privately discoursing with his cousin about the communications he had had with the king, Ireton's expressions were these :—' He gave us words, and we paid him in his own coin when we found he had no real intention to the people's good, but to prevail by our factions, to regain by art what he had lost in fight.'"

In the army, another body, still more republican in their views than the leaders, rapidly gained strength, avowing a determination to destroy the monarchy. In such a state of affairs nothing but decidedly uniting himself with those who directed the military power, and making it their interest to support him, was likely to be of use to the king. This course Charles did not pursue ; nor was it probable that one who had so long acted contrary to his real interest, should be induced to change his proceedings,

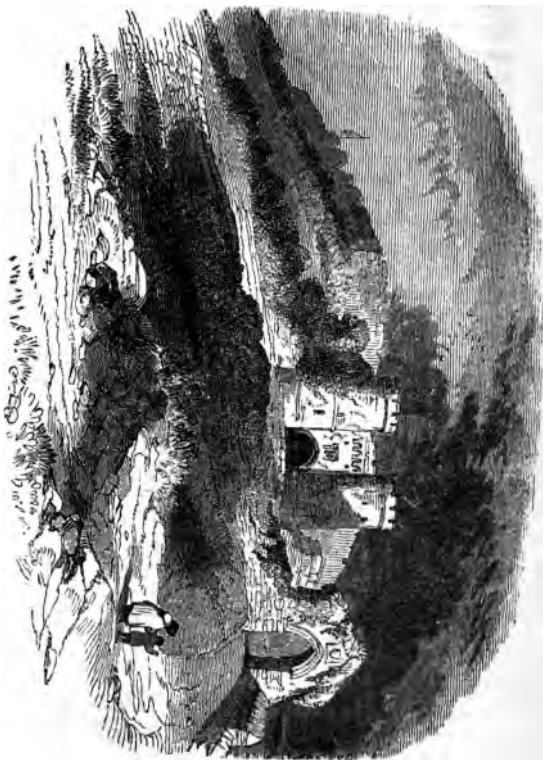
when every step he had taken made the retracing of his errors more bitter and difficult. As the poet well says—

“ Oh, what a tangled web we weave,  
When first we practise to deceive ! ”

The king being alarmed at the progress of the levellers, withdrew the promise he had given not to attempt to leave Hampton Court, assigning for a reason, that he was watched as closely as if he had not given such a pledge. Additional guards were posted, and other measures of precaution taken: but some consider that the military leaders wished him to withdraw, and, therefore, alarming statements of the intentions of his enemies were frequently conveyed to him, particularly in reference to an approaching rendezvous of the army. Others consider that he was actually in danger, and that some of his friends, or even Cromwell, caused him to be advised to retire for his own safety. The Scottish commissioners in London refused to give the king an asylum. The Isle of Wight was then fixed upon. In the evening of November 11th, 1647, he left Hampton Court, accompanied by Legge, Ashburnham, and Berkeley. The latter two were sent forward to colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight for the parliament, who was a man of honour, and nephew to one of the royal chaplains, to obtain an assurance of protection; but although Hammond refused to give this, they were induced to take him to the king, then at Titchfield, near Southampton. He had then changed his first intention, and purposed escaping to France, but the presence of Hammond rendered this impossible. The king reproached Ashburnham, but after two hours' irresolution, he gave himself up to the colonel, who conducted him to Carisbrook Castle, with respect.

Fairfax and Cromwell endeavoured to crush the levellers in the army at the rendezvous at Ware, on

CARISBROOK CASTLE.





November 16th. By the personal courage of the latter, one of the mutineers was seized, and immediately shot; but it was found that insubordination pervaded so large a portion of the army that it was useless to contend; both Fairfax and Cromwell publicly acknowledged they had been wrong in their proceedings, including their negotiations with the king, and engaged to stand or fall with the army.

This was consenting to join, or rather to head, the republican party. The new turn of affairs was solemnized by a fast, and religious services. Whatever might be the blind enthusiasm of the active among the soldiery, Cromwell cannot be acquitted of hypocrisy in this transaction, though perhaps he might perceive he had gone too far to recede, so that his only course was to destroy the monarchy, and settle the state without any further treaty with the monarch.

The king was closely guarded in the Isle of Wight, yet received marks of outward respect. When settled there, he began to negotiate with the different parties, making further concessions; but the proper moment for decision had been allowed to pass by. Cromwell refused to see Berkeley in private, but assured him he would serve the king as long as he could, though it must not be expected that he would risk himself for the sake of the king.

The Scottish commissioners did not hesitate to warn the monarch that many talked of subjecting him to a trial, and even of putting him to death. The terms offered by the parliament were, that he should assent to four acts, presented December 24th. The first placed the command of the army and navy with the parliament for twenty years, or even longer; the second annulled all the royal proceedings during the war, recalling all the king's declarations and proclamations; the third made all creations of new peers subject to the consent of parliament, before they could sit in the house of lords; the fourth gave

the houses power to adjourn where and when they pleased. The Scottish commissioners and the Presbyterians objected to these proposals, declaring them to be too harsh; but the Independents knew their strength, and proceeded, though the Scots endeavoured to meet the king's views, agreeing not to require him to confirm the covenant, if he would concede in matters of religion, so far as his conscience permitted. A private treaty between them was signed on December 28th, and the king refused to assent to the four bills, or to agree to any thing with the parliament, till the whole that would be required was brought forward.

By this time Charles resolved to attempt to escape to France; a vessel was waiting to receive him, but Hammond anticipated him, by sending Berkeley away, confining the king to his apartment, and dismissing his personal attendants, as soon as the answer was sent to the parliament. The parliament voted that they would receive no farther message from the king, nor send any address or supplication to him; the army agreed to support the settling of the parliament and kingdom without the king, and against him or any other partaking with him. The Scots were excluded from a part in the deliberations for the public safety. These resolutions were settled about the middle of January, 1648; but as the year advanced, a general uneasiness prevailed among all reflecting minds throughout the nation.

The king found means to correspond with his friends; by his direction, the duke of York escaped to France, but an attempt made by the king to escape through a window failed; he stuck between two iron bars, and with difficulty forced himself back again into the room, without being seen by any other than the parties who waited to aid his descent. After this, he was induced to give up further attempts: it is said that a letter from the queen dissuaded him from risking his life in such efforts. A

previous attempt to make a rising in the island to rescue the king had also failed.

Four months passed away; the nation did not appear to settle, though open warfare was at an end: the same exactions and arbitrary proceedings continued. It was evident that under the name of the parliament the kingdom was ruled by the council of officers. The king and his friends made use of the press; various statements and appeals to the nation were sent forth, which, with the proceedings of his opponents, caused a considerable reaction in his favour. Many desired he should be restored to power under some limitations; but the fierce agitators of the army avowed their desire for the destruction of the monarchy. Cromwell endeavoured to repress the extreme views of both parties.

The Scottish nation in general were equally dissatisfied; they were displeased that the king's positive consent to the covenant had not been obtained; the duke of Hamilton, however, succeeded in levying some forces, the entrance of which into England, as agreed at Hampton Court, was to be a signal for simultaneous efforts of the royalists in England. The Scots, however, were tardy, while the king's supporters were more hasty than had been arranged; there was no unison in their proceedings. An attempt in Wales was defeated by Cromwell in May, while disturbances in other places, even in London, were quickly suppressed. There was a more serious rising in Kent in the latter end of May, supported by the fleet then in the Downs, which, after hoisting the royal colours, sailed to Holland, desiring to have the young duke of York for their admiral; but farther desertion in the fleet ceased on the earl of Warwick being again appointed lord high admiral.

The royalists being defeated at Maidstone, and repulsed from London, after advancing to Blackheath, crossed into Essex, June 4th. Being joined by others, they took possession of Colchester, and re-

solved to hold that town to detain Fairfax from marching northward against the Scots.

The result of these efforts for a time strengthened the Presbyterian party : it was resolved to renew the treaty with the king ; the leaders of the army neglected these proceedings, feeling sure that when they had again put down all opposition, they should be able once more to command the parliament.

In July, the duke of Hamilton entered England to rescue and support the royalists, who had for some time been in possession of Carlisle. Their united forces were successful, but advanced very slowly ; on August 17th they were only at Preston. Here the royalists were left to meet the brunt of an attack from Cromwell, who had put down a rising in Wales by taking Pembroke Castle, where, it is said, he caused a royalist officer, colonel Poyer, to be shot after the surrender ; but this execution did not take place till some time afterwards. Assistance was not given by the Scots, who, in their turn, were obliged to flee. The duke of Hamilton retired with a considerable body of cavalry ; but, in the end, the whole of the forces were dispersed or taken prisoners ; the duke himself was captured in Staffordshire.

A far less vigorous attempt was made by the earl of Holland, near London, early in July, which ended in his defeat and surrender in Cambridgeshire, July 10. But the royalists in Colchester, though besieged by Fairfax, still held out under extreme suffering and privation. The townsmen had been unwilling to receive them, that part of the country having from the first supported the parliament ; but several thousand armed royalists could not be shut out : thus the inhabitants were subjected against their own will, to the destruction of their property and the severity of famine. When the defeat of the Scots was known, farther resistance was wholly useless ; the royalists offered to capitulate, but were told that the officers had been declared traitors by parliament, and no

terms could be granted beyond that of quarter for the common men. The three principal leaders, Cappel, Goring, and Hastings, were spared for the decision of the parliament; but Fairfax, probably by the counsel of Ireton, resolved to cause some of the officers to be shot in revenge for the protracted resistance. Three knights, sir Charles Lucas, sir George Lisle, and sir Bernard Gascoigne, were accordingly condemned by a council of officers; the third, proving to be a foreigner, was spared, lest his countrymen should retaliate upon some English; but the former two were taken to the yard behind the castle, and shot. They met their deaths with



Colchester Castle.

constancy and loyalty. Fairfax was much and justly blamed for this cold-blooded act of cruelty. His alleged excuse, that they were soldiers of fortune, was not true; they were doubtless selected for their known courage in the royal cause. Although the civil contest inflicted many sufferings both on the military and the peaceable inhabitants of the land, and some perished under false or exaggerated legal charges, yet there is no other instance on record of such cold-blooded, useless atrocity during this period. It was well that there were no other military proceedings then going forward, or a system of re-


taliation probably would have followed, which would have added much to the blood-guiltiness already accumulating on the land. "Ye shed blood, and shall ye possess the land?" was a question solemnly put by the prophet to the degenerate people of God. Still, nothing justifies the constant practice of all parties, in this and in every other contest, taking possession of the habitations of those who desire to refrain from the contest, as in this very case of Colchester, subjecting them to the sufferings and penalties consequent upon proceedings to which they are averse. In this case, after seeing the destruction of many of their churches, public buildings, and private houses, having much of their property seized by the royalist garrison, while all trade and labour was stopped, and many of their lives sacrificed by sickness and the sword, the impoverished survivors were compelled to pay 10,000*l.* to save the miserable remnant of their property from plunder, and themselves from outrages.

While these attempts to renew the contest in England were made, the prince of Wales had gone on board the fleet, but nothing more than a threatening demonstration at the mouth of the Thames was the result. The council on board negotiated with the parliament; but the defeat of Hamilton put an end to any hopes of success. Notwithstanding the king desired them to sail to the Isle of Wight and liberate him, they returned to Holland at the end of August, without making any attempt in his favour, though the opposing fleet was not strong enough to withstand them. Thus was this unhappy monarch abandoned by his son and his chief supporters! After they went back to Holland, many of the ships were carried back by the sailors to the service of the parliament. Cromwell's victory at Preston has been already noticed: he from thence proceeded to Scotland, where the ministers had roused the western peasantry to arms, as they said, to defend the

covenant against the soldiers still remaining embodied. The tumultuary mass was called "The Whiggamores," a term the derivation of which is not certain, but which gave rise to the well-known party appellation of "The Whigs." The approach of Cromwell caused the two parties in Scotland to lay aside their own differences, and to make peace with the English parliamentarians, whose commander was invited to Edinburgh. After settling matters there, he slowly returned to the south, preferring that matters should proceed according to his wish, without his personal intervention.

The prospect of the army being again at liberty to interfere in the affairs of state, induced the parliamentary leaders to resume negotiations with the king in September. A number of commissioners, among whom was Hollis, repaired to Newport; the king was allowed more personal freedom, with the attendance of his clergy, and of those counsellors who had not engaged in actual war, upon his promise not to leave the island till twenty days after the treaty should be over. The delay of this treaty was injurious to its success; the leaders of the parliament, perhaps, were as much disposed to peace as before the last hostilities, but they could not venture upon measures of reconciliation with the king, while the army was flushed with renewed victory.

All that had been before required was still demanded, but whatever proposals the king made were pronounced unsatisfactory. After long debates, the king gave way on all points excepting four: he refused to abolish the episcopal office, and would only consent to suspend the bishops from exercising their functions during three years; he agreed to allow the granting leases of the bishops' lands for ninety-nine years, but not the alienating them for perpetuity; he would not agree to take the covenant, nor consent that any of his followers should be excluded from personal safety, if they were willing to pay a compo-



sition. The treaty was prolonged far into November, but without success ; by the king's close adherence to the points already mentioned, he certainly did much to meet the charge of insincerity, which attaches too justly to many of his former proceedings, and he deserves full credit for acting according to his conscience ; yet a distinction in his proceedings must be noticed. He could make concessions on many points of his own power, trusting to recover what he regarded as his rights at a future period ; but he would not agree to proposals limiting the outward circumstances of the ecclesiastical body. Here, there seems to have been a twofold motive : he regarded the episcopal office, as then constituted, to be of Divine appointment, and also that the monarchy could not continue to exist, if diocesan episcopacy were destroyed. A proof of inconsistency, however, appears from a letter written on October 24th, when he had consented to what was required respecting the army. He wrote that he made this great concession merely in order to his escape, and to Ormond to the same effect, respecting his concessions as to Ireland.

The Presbyterian party also acted unwisely in neglecting the opportunity these negotiations had afforded. Their power was now connected with the preservation of a degree of kingly authority and the safety of his person. But they delayed ; a sterner voice was now heard. An opinion openly prevailed among the more violent and fanatical of the soldiery, that it was necessary to cleanse the land from the blood shed therein during the civil war, by the blood of the party causing it to be shed, and they did not hesitate to attribute the guilt of this wholly to the king.

The first address to this purport was presented from Ireton's regiment about the middle of October. With the usual blindness of ignorance and fanaticism, they took a partial view of the subject, and only



referred to the unhappy monarch. forgetting that there were those amongst his opponents, to whom, even on their own principles, the charge would equally apply. They also chose to overlook those passages of Scripture which, though wrested by some to extravagant lengths, making kings objects of a sort of idolatrous worship, nevertheless imply, and absolutely require respect and submission to the powers that be, "kings and all that are in authority," which even the conscientious ministers and followers of Christ among the parliamentarians, and doubtless there were such, seem at this period wholly to have forgotten or laid aside. They had unwittingly given way to their personal and party feelings under oppression, till they had strengthened the hands of others, who determined upon courses which the more moderate now looked upon with horror. Mrs. Hutchinson says of Cromwell's ambitious conduct: "Yet this he did not directly nor in tumult, but by such degrees that it was unperceived by all that were not of very penetrating eyes; and those that made the loudest outcries against him, lifted up their voices with such apparent envy and malice, that in that mist they rather hid than discovered his ambitious underminings." But we must resume the narrative: our course here is to narrate an outline of facts, not to enter into discussions upon them.

On November 16th, the extent to which these evil principles had gone, was shown by a remonstrance from the council of officers. Setting aside the house of lords, it was addressed to the house of commons alone, demanding that the grand and capital author of the national troubles should be called to account, that the present parliament should be dissolved, that a representation of the people on more equal principles should be arranged, that future kings should be elected by the parliament, who should possess the supreme power, the prince not having even a negative voice on laws passed by the representative body.

The old parliamentary leaders felt the crisis, and roused themselves to meet it, knowing that the opinion of the great mass of the nation was with them. By considerable majorities they deferred the consideration of this petition, and pressed the conclusion of the treaty with the king, trusting that peace would be so acceptable to the nation at large, as to give them adequate support against the army.

Charles was warned of his danger; the army already sought to put him under stricter restraint; his friends united with the moderate among his opponents, in advising him to comply before it was too late. With much reluctance, at the last moment, the king agreed to leave seven of his supporters to the mercy of parliament: these were, the marquis of Newcastle, Langdale, Digby, sir Richard Grenville, Doddington, lord Byron, and judge Jenkins, who had fearlessly, in the house of commons itself, refused to acknowledge its authority or do obeisance. For this he had been voted a traitor, but the leaders did not venture to order his execution. The king also consented to suspend the functions, and stop the revenues of the bishops, till determined by agreement between himself and the houses. But the king had little expectation of a final settlement; he was now aware of his personal danger, and determined, if possible, to escape. The commissioners took leave of the king on November 28th, when he said, "My lords, I believe we shall scarce ever see each other again. But God's will be done. I have made my peace with him, and shall undergo without fear whatever he may suffer men to do to me. My lords, you cannot but know that in my fall and ruin you see your own, and that also near you. I pray God send you better friends than I have found. I am fully informed of the carriage of them who plot against me and mine; but nothing affects me so much as the feeling I have of the sufferings of my subjects, and the mischief that hangs over my three kingdoms, drawn upon them by

those who, upon pretences of good, violently pursue their own interests and ends."

Hammond left at the same time, and the next day the king was warned that a detachment was coming from the army to make him prisoner. The king's attendants offered to secure his immediate escape; but Charles adhered to his pledge, refusing to listen to the distinction, that it was given to the parliament not to the army, under whose control he now was. He still expressed a belief that no party could succeed without securing his assistance. The soldiers arrived, and on November 20th, 1648, the king was conveyed to Hurst Castle, in Hampshire.

The officers of the army, on November 30th, 1648, issued a threatening declaration, charging the leaders of the house of commons with departure from their first principles, and called on those who remained "faithful," as they styled it, to accept of protection. This document was supported by quartering some regiments at Westminster; but the parliamentary leaders, who were, in fact, the principals of the Presbyterian party, did not give way as formerly. They protested against the seizure of the king, and debated respecting his concessions. Prynne, with others who had been most violent against the royal party, now censured the army. Prynne, especially stood forward manfully against military despotism; he narrated his own sufferings from ecclesiastical and regal tyranny, and urged that they were bound in honour, prudence, justice, and conscience, to entertain the king's propositions. After debating for three days and one night, it was resolved by a majority of 140 against 104, "that the answer of the king to the propositions of both houses, was a ground for the houses to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom;" and a committee was appointed to confer with Fairfax as general of the army.

This was on December 5th. The next day two regiments were placed about the houses instead of the

usual guard. Colonel Pride stood in the lobby, with a list of the names of members who were pointed out to him by lord Grey, fifty-two were seized and placed in temporary confinement. A similar course was pursued the next day, while many others retired to avoid being seized. At the conclusion of this act of violence, forty-seven members were imprisoned, and ninety-six excluded from the house. The small remainder did not exceed sixty individuals. These were afterwards, in derision, termed "the rump;" while the proceedings by which the rest were excluded was called "Pride's purge." No authority for the violence was avowed, but the quarter from whence it proceeded could not be mistaken.

Cromwell arrived in London on December 7th, when he was received with applauses, and thanked by the remaining members of the parliament for his services, after which he slept at Whitehall Palace. It was evident that he participated in the course now pursuing by the military leaders, who, for the moment, possessed ruling power. This was shown the following day, by a military force marching into the city, and seizing the money and valuables lodged in the halls of some of the principal companies. The new rulers differed as to the extent to which they desired to push their levelling proceedings. Cromwell and others sought to prevent a state of anarchy, and to form a military despotism in their own hands, while the lower orders of agitators pressed republican principles to the utmost. Both saw, however, that unless they put the king to death, their designs could not be carried into effect. They considered it best to proceed by open accusation: under their direction, a committee was appointed "to prepare a charge of high treason against the king, which should contain the several crimes and misdemeanours of his reign; which being made, they would consider of the best way and manner of proceeding, that he might be brought to justice." "This," as Clarendon states, the

leading officers said, " would be most for the honour of the parliament, and would teach all kings to know that they were accountable and punishable for the wickedness of their lives."

This resolution was agreed to on December 23rd, and on January 1st, 1649, a vote was passed, declaring it to be high treason for the king of England to levy war against the parliament and kingdom, and a high court of justice was appointed to try if the king had so done; accusing him of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people. The house of lords, then reduced to a very small number, unanimously refused to consent, and adjourned for a week, to embarrass these proceedings; but this gave facility to the dominant party: they caused the door of the house of lords to be padlocked, and voted that " the people are, under God, the origin of all just power;" and that the commons had supreme power in the nation, being chosen by and representing the people. Without attempting here to discuss this claim, it must be remarked, that this was evidently a falsehood as the house of commons was then constituted. It consisted of only a small portion of the house as originally elected, and was merely an instrument in the hands of the principal officers of the army. The largest number present at this period was fifty-three; on one occasion, they had to send for one of the imprisoned members to make up the number of forty. The act for the king's trial was passed on January 6th: during these debates Cromwell spoke for moderation, expressing a sort of reluctance to the measures, which evidently he might have stopped had he chosen to do so. The kingly authority was wholly set aside, and a new great seal ordered, representing the parliament sitting.

The nation at large being taken by surprise at these proceedings, the determined band that hurried

them forward, met with no efficient opposition. Those originally the most active in opposing the measures of the court, who acted from conscientious principles, however mistaken in many of their proceedings, were entirely put aside, for though sufficiently numerous to divert this republican course, they had not energy to come forward, nor leaders to direct them. We can only attempt to narrate leading events, with a few reflections which may tend to direct to the supreme Disposer of events; therefore, without attempting to show how far a constitutional opposition to the course pursued by Charles and his ministers might have been carried, we must admit that these leaders, though some of them were reputed good and pious characters, went too far, being led by ambitious and wicked men; so that, although not themselves direct parties to the deed of violence now under notice, they, in fact, prepared the way which another set of men entered upon, and which brought heavy guilt upon the land.

The preachers who at first encouraged the war from their pulpits, now preached earnestly against any act of violence being offered to the person of the king: but it was too late; they had aided to give motion to a machine now beyond their control. In national affairs, we may always trace retribution in this life; and in the next reign it was evidently seen, that a wicked prince, widely differing from his father, was the instrument to punish those who, beginning a lawful resistance, had allowed themselves to become the tools of a political party determined to go to the very opposite extreme of the court leaders, without regard to the means. Here is a warning for later times.

Fairfax took a different course from Cromwell. He refused to attend any of the meetings of the commissioners after the first, or to give his name to their resolutions. These, in effect, were mere mockery, and so was the whole trial; for the leaders had already determined that the blood of their king should be

shed. He had been removed in December to St. James's Palace, stopping for a time at Windsor, where the state and respect with which he had hitherto been treated, were discontinued, which made a deeper impression on him than other matters of more importance had done; but still he seemed to think that danger was at a distance, saying that he had three games to play, the least of which gave him hopes of regaining all. He also still depended on assistance from Ireland.

His removal from Hurst Castle was superintended by colonel Harrison, of whom the king had been warned as engaged to assassinate him. During their journey the utmost vigilance was observed, so as to defeat an attempt for his escape from Bagshot. Harrison observing the king's apprehensions, told him that he needed not to entertain any such imagination or apprehension; that the parliament had too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention; and that whatever the parliament resolved to do, would be very public and in a way of justice, to which the world should be witness; it would never endure a thought of secret violence.

In addition to the mistaken views already mentioned, the king still held and looked to the interference of the Scots, and of the French, and other foreign rulers; or, at the worst, that he should be deposed, and one of his children made nominally the king. The foreign powers, however, made no effort in favour of the English monarch, and the appeals from the prince and the queen were treated with neglect. The Scots commissioners gave in a protest, and argued with Cromwell, who silenced them by a reference to the covenant.

All was prepared for the trial. A lawyer of some note, named Bradshaw, was appointed lord president of the high court of justice, other requisite officers were named. But the poor king was left to himself: he had no advisers, nor any correct information as to

what was passing. In this state his spirits rallied, and he was enabled to act with self-possession and simple dignity, which made the proceedings against him the more odious.

On January the 26th, the mock trial began in Westminster Hall. A strong guard of soldiers surrounded the place and attended the court. Sixty-six commissioners, officers of the army, or the most violent of the other noted partisans, were present. Only one nobleman, lord Grey, attended the whole time of the trial. Lord Monson was there a part of the proceedings. Charles listened with firmness to the charge, which described him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England. For three days the king firmly, though unsupported, questioned the authority of the court; he refused to answer the charges, or to acknowledge the authority of those who sat as judges, denying the assertions of the president that he was an elected king, and pointing out that the peers were absent, who alone were a court of judicature, and not the commons. He had prepared a statement against the jurisdiction of the court, but was not allowed to deliver it. After this they proceeded to receive evidence as to the king having taken a part in several of the engagements during the war. This occupied two days, during which the king was not present; finally, sixty-two commissioners being there, they settled the form of their sentence, condemning the king to suffer death.

On Saturday, January 27th, the king was again brought before this unconstitutional court of judicature, when Bradshaw appeared in a scarlet robe, instead of his customary garb of black. The king augured from this that his doom was fixed, and required to be heard in the Painted Chamber, before the lords and commons. It was thought he had intended to offer to resign the throne to his eldest son; but after the commissioners had withdrawn for a



short time, he was told it was too late, and on remonstrating he was silenced. After a long speech from Bradshaw, the sentence was read, declaring him to be guilty, and sentencing him to be beheaded. He was then hurried away by his guards, some of whom insulted him, one even spitting in his face. Hearing others cry out, "Justice," the king calmly said, "For a piece of money they would do so for their commanders."

A few circumstances which took place during the trial may be mentioned. There were strict guards, many soldiers, and a great press of people at the trial of the king. The house of commons met only to adjourn. Some who sat on the scaffolds about the court at the trial, (particularly the lady Fairfax, the lord general's wife,) did not forbear to exclaim aloud against the proceedings of the court, and the irreverent usage of the king by his subjects, insomuch that the court was interrupted, and the soldiers and officers in attendance had much to do to quiet the ladies and others. "The king's deportment," says Echard, "was very majestic and steady, and though his tongue did usually a little hesitate, yet it was very free at this time, and he was never discomposed in mind, as he declared to bishop Juxon, who attended him afterwards. Yet he confessed to him that one incident shocked him very much; for while he was leaning in the court upon his cane, which had a head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden without any visible reason; he took it up, and seemed unconcerned, yet told the bishop it really made a great impression upon him, and he never could possibly discover how it should happen. When Bradshaw commanded the guard to take him away, he with an austere countenance, replied, 'Well, sir!' and, going down, he with his cane pointed to the sword upon the table, and said, 'I do not fear that.' The spectators were very numerous to behold this *melancholy sight*, many of whom, with bleeding

hearts and weeping eyes, lamented his miserable fate."

The death-warrant is dated on Monday, January 29th. It was signed and sealed by fifty-nine of the commissioners, as many as could be prevailed upon to affix their names, out of one hundred and fifty, only forty of them were members of the house of commons. Only seventy of the hundred and fifty named sat during any part of the trial. Some few, doubtless, were conscientious in their mistaken course ; but most were hardened political agitators, determined to proceed to the utmost ; some few of them displayed cruel levity in this closing act of their outrage. Cromwell's name was affixed the third. A very short interval was allowed to the royal victim. Sunday, January 28th, and the day following, were passed by the king in devotional exercises, which he allowed to be interrupted only by taking leave of two of his children, the duke of Gloucester and the princess Elizabeth, upon the Monday.

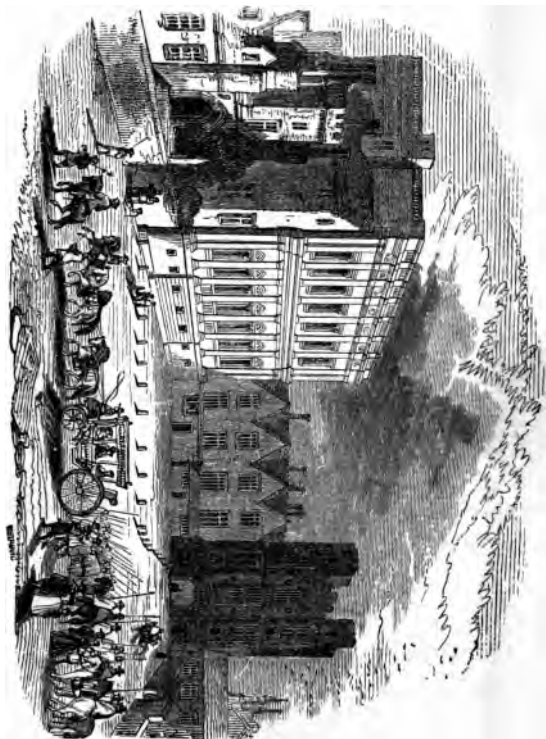
He declined to see some of the nobility who were attached to his cause. His personal attendant Herbert, and Dr. Juxon, the bishop of London, were allowed to be with the king to the last. The bishop preached before him on Romans ii. 16, " In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ according to my gospel : " a solemn admonition, applicable to all ; to the king, and to those who undertook to sit in judgment upon him.

Early on Tuesday morning, January 30th, the king awoke Herbert, saying, " This is my second wedding day. I would be as trim as may be ; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." He then calmly directed his preparations, saying, " I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God, I am prepared." Some time was spent in his devotions, until ten o'clock, when a strong guard, commanded by colonel Hacker, took the king through the park to Whitehall. Here he was for some hours.

during which time he received a letter from the prince, who had sent to the general, lord Fairfax, a blank sheet of paper with his own signature, thus offering to subscribe to any conditions for obtaining his father's life. It is possible that some of the leaders were irresolute to the last, and Fairfax always declared that he was kept in ignorance till the execution had taken place. This is confirmed by an inquiry the king's attendant states him to have made, after the fatal blow was struck. He did not attend any of the meetings of the commissioners subsequent to the first day, when the proceedings were only matters of form.

About two o'clock the king was summoned. Passing through a window, from whence he had beheld the masque given by the inns of court on his return from Scotland, he was led to the scaffold in front of the Banqueting House, which was covered with black, and on which stood two masked executioners. A broad circle of horse and foot soldiers surrounded the scaffold; a countless multitude filled every avenue. The king faced the preparations with cheerfulness and intrepidity. Finding he could not be heard by the people, he addressed those on the scaffold, merely observing that he had not commenced the war. His fate, he continued, however innocent he was of the delinquency with which he was charged, was an effect of the just judgment of God, for an unjust sentence to which he had given way against the earl of Strafford. He expressed forgiveness for the world in general, and the authors of his death in particular, and hoped that they would repent of their criminality, and pursue the right way to the establishment of public peace. He interchanged a few words with bishop Juxon, saying, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." The unhappy monarch then knelt down, and gave the signal, when he was immediately beheaded. Philip Henry relates

THE BANQUETING HOUSE, WHITEHALL.



two circumstances well worthy of notice : first, that at the moment the axe fell, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight, as he had never heard before, and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it ; and, secondly, that two bodies of horse immediately moved in opposite directions, thus compelling the multitude to disperse for their own safety, instead of remaining to express their feelings on the tragedy they had just witnessed.

The body of the unhappy monarch was delivered, on February 17th, to some of his servants, by whom it was removed to Windsor, where the duke of Richmond and others discovered a vault, in which were the remains of Henry VIII. and his beloved queen, Jane Seymour. There they interred king Charles ; and there, on the opening of the vault in the year 1813, the three coffins were found. On examining that supposed to contain the remains of king Charles, the head was found separated from the body, and in sufficient preservation to cause the face to be recognised.

Here closes one of the blackest pages in English history ; and as a matter of history alone is it treated in these pages. As such it is instructive to all parties, in all generations. It warns all to beware how they enter upon extreme political proceedings, and shows how they may be hurried into measures of which they have not counted the cost. To consider this fearful deed as a just and necessary act, on the one hand is wholly unjustifiable ; but it is not less so to exaggerate it the other way, by using language bordering upon blasphemy, which many have done ; literally drawing a parallel between the outraged monarch, and Him who gave himself for our sins ! If the first course is directly contrary to the spirit and precepts of Scripture, the latter is not less so. The unhappy fate of Charles causes us to forget the arbitrary and persecuting, unlawful proceedings of

the early part of his reign. It is but too true, "that his faults should be studied that there never may again be a necessity for the display of his virtues;" but it is safest to refer for all farther observations to the numerous writers of all parties who have expressed their opinions thereon, from Clarendon, who wrote in the succeeding reign, to Lingard, and others of the latest historians.



## THE COMMONWEALTH.

FOUR YEARS, FROM A.D. 1649, TO A.D. 1653.

THE public execution of a lawful monarch by a part of his subjects was an appalling event, it excited a very great sensation throughout Europe. In England, few, even of those who originated the opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of king Charles, and who continued firm in that opposition, were prepared for such a result. Like other deeds of violence, it returned upon the perpetrators. Bishop Burnet remarks : " In the king's death, the ill effect of extreme violent counsels discovered itself. Ireton hoped that by this all men concerned in it would become irreconcilable to monarchy, and would act as desperate men, and destroy all that might avenge that blood. But this had a very different effect. The recoiling of cruel counsels on the authors of them never appeared more eminently than in the death of king Charles I., whose serious and christian deportment in it made all his former errors be entirely forgot, and raised a compassionate regard to him that drew a lasting hatred on the actors, and was the true occasion of the great turn of the nation in 1660."

It could not, however, be esteemed as the act of the nation. Philip Henry's statement is worthy of notice. His son Matthew Henry says, that his father, " upon all occasions, testified his abhorrence of this unparalleled action, which he had always said, was a thing that could not be justified, and yet he said he saw not how it could be called a national sin ; for, as the king urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one man in ten in the kingdom did consent to it ; nor could it be called the sin of the long parliament, for *far* the greatest part of them were all that time while

the thing was in agitation, imprisoned, and kept under a force. But it is manifest it was done by a prevailing party in the army." And the violent dealings of the regicides returned upon their own heads.

The faction which carried into effect the fatal measure already recorded, were prompt to pursue their victory. On the very day upon which the king suffered at Whitehall, a proclamation was publicly read, by which it was declared treason to give any one the title of king without the consent of parliament; and the assertion already made in the votes of the commons, that the supreme authority was in the national representatives, was made in public. The few remaining peers desired a conference on the subject two days afterwards; but no notice was taken of their request; and on February 6th, the commons declared that the house of peers was dangerous, useless, and ought to be abolished. A scanty number voted on this question. It was carried by forty-four against twenty-nine; Cromwell being one of that minority. On the following day a resolution was passed against "kingship;" soon afterwards the late king's statue in the Royal Exchange was demolished, and a Latin inscription was set in its place, speaking of Charles as a tyrant and the last of the kings. Finally, on February 14th, a new council of state was appointed, invested with the executive government, the direction of the forces, and other matters, consisting of thirty-eight members. Bradshaw was president, and Milton secretary for foreign correspondence. A few peers were included. A new great seal was made, representing the house of commons assembled; fresh commissions were issued to the judges and justices; the court of king's bench was called the common bench; and public documents were ordered to be dated, "in the first year of English liberty restored." Such were the proceedings of the small body who usurped the authority, and falsely assumed themselves to be the representatives of the people.



These were sweeping measures; but considerate men viewed them as too violent to be permanent. The authority of the prince of Wales, then residing at the Hague, as his father's successor, was recognised by all the royalists, under the title of Charles II.

An effort on the part of the regicides, to obtain the signature of their associates in the council to an approval of the execution of the king having failed, the leaders gave up that point, and were satisfied with an engagement from all holding places and offices, that they would be faithful to the Commonwealth as then established. It is worthy of remark, that in all these proceedings, though completely overturning established forms and laws, there were no hasty and sanguinary measures such as were exhibited in revolutionary France, about fifty years ago. Here were seen the civilizing results of a profession of religion, however opposed part of the practice of its professors might be to real christian principles. Even the peers were allowed to retain their titles. There was no attempt to proscribe the royalists, or murder them in a mass; though in March, duke Hamilton, lord Capel, and lord Holland were executed by sentence of a newly-devised tribunal.

There were, however, many who would have gone still farther than Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, Martin, and Bradshaw, who were the principal devisers of the proceedings already mentioned. A large body of the soldiery were inclined to the views advanced by those called "Levellers," whose proceedings were consistent with the principles they avowed. Lilburne, one of the leaders, decidedly opposed Cromwell, feeling assured that he aimed at exercising openly that supreme authority which he had in reality attained. An attempt to quiet Lilburne by a grant from the fines then raising was unsuccessful. He petitioned, on February 26th, against the proposed "agreement," as it was called, urging farther measures of reform, which were supported by a large number of petitions,

both from the army and the people in general. Fairfax and Cromwell took alarm at these proceedings, especially as some of the military broke out into open mutiny. Strong measures followed. The largest body was defeated by Cromwell at Burford. Some of the ringleaders were executed. Other smaller risings were soon dispersed; among them a sect or party who called themselves "Diggers," who openly reduced their principles to practice, by beginning to cultivate in common a tract of land in Surrey. These tumults being suppressed, a day of thanksgiving was kept by public religious services, after which the higher powers dined with the city authorities at Grocers' Hall; Lenthall, the speaker, took the place, and enacted the part usually performed by the king on such occasions, presiding at the feast, with the general on the one hand, and the president of the council of state on the other. Lilburne was imprisoned, but after a long trial he was acquitted.

There was much suffering at this time in England: the taxes and heavy imposts were rigidly exacted. In some parts famine prevailed. In the north, many perished of hunger: the magistrates of Cumberland certified that thirty thousand families in that county had no corn for seed or for bread, nor the means of procuring it. As the year advanced, these wants were supplied, but not without many privations.

The new king, Charles II., was proclaimed in Ireland and Scotland. For a time the royal cause made rapid progress in the former; but it suffered from the usual misconduct of prince Rupert, and its course was finally stayed by the arrival of Cromwell, in August, with a considerable military force. He was completely successful, after some acts of military execution, and massacring the inhabitants of Drogheda and Wexford. He was recalled in May, 1650, to proceed against Scotland.

Charles II. had also been proclaimed in Scotland;

but hard terms were offered him by the Presbyterians, which made him unwilling to go to that country, though he secretly hoped for support more to his mind from Montrose and other Scottish royalists, who urged him not to take the covenant. He was privately supported by the states of Holland; they also favoured his partizans by allowing the assassins of Dorislaus, the agent for the Commonwealth at the Hague, to escape. He was murdered in May, 1649, while at supper, by several men, said to have been hired for the deed by the marquis of Montrose. That nobleman afterwards landed in Scotland with a few followers. He was taken prisoner, and hanged at Edinburgh, on May 16th, 1650, the Scottish parliament rejecting his plea, that all he had done was by the king's command, and to support the authority of Charles I. and his son. Ascham, an envoy from the parliament at Madrid, was also assassinated there by some of the exiled royalists.

Charles, after lingering in France till it was useless for him to proceed to Ireland, finding no other course open, at last met the Scottish commissioners at Breda, on March the 15th, 1650, where he agreed to the terms imposed on him, but not till he had delayed some time in hopes of favourable accounts from Montrose. On learning the defeat of that nobleman, he did not scruple to disavow the proceedings he had encouraged, and on May the 13th submitted to the demands made for his concurrence. He then embarked; after a long passage, he arrived in Scotland June the 23rd, and was received with outward respect, but only a few of his personal followers were allowed to remain at court. The treatment he received, being debarred from licentious amusements, and compelled to listen to sermons for several hours together, was any thing but gratifying to a youthful libertine, such as Charles II. had already shown himself to be.

The Independent party in England opposed any recognition of regal authority, however limited or

feeble. Fairfax having resigned the command of the army, from unwillingness to engage in the war with Scotland, Cromwell was appointed to the chief command. On July 16th, he marched for Scotland. The Scottish general, Lesley, ordered the whole country, from the Tweed to Edinburgh, to be laid waste, and abandoned by its inhabitants; but Cromwell marched by the sea coast, obtaining constant supplies from his ships. He found the Scottish army posted so strongly near Edinburgh, that after a month spent in vain efforts to carry or turn its position, his army had suffered so much that it was necessary to retreat. Lesley followed, having only to continue the same plan to secure a triumph over Cromwell; but the committees, who directed affairs, compelled their general to give battle. The result was disastrous to their cause.

On September 3rd, Cromwell defeated the Scottish army at Dunbar, which gave him possession of Edinburgh; but the castle held out till December 24th, when, for the first time, it was surrendered to a besieger. Charles was not altogether displeased at the Presbyterians receiving this check, for it obliged them to encourage the duke of Hamilton, and others who were attached to his cause. They also gave him more liberty and authority. He was crowned at Scone, January 1st, 1651, when he engaged to observe the covenant, and maintain the Presbyterian establishment in Scotland. After this, he was allowed to take the command of the army, which was recruited to oppose the English forces.

The spring passed away. No events of moment occurred, though in England several fruitless efforts were made by the royalists. Many Presbyterians took part in these designs. The council of state caused some to suffer. Amongst them was a highly respected minister named Love, who was beheaded more than two months after the trial; the parliamentary leaders lost by this proceeding.

Cromwell was ill for some time at Edinburgh ; but on his recovery proceeded northwards and took Perth, when the king urged Lesley, the Scottish commander, to invade England, hoping to be joined by a large number of royalists and Presbyterians. Early in August, the royal army entered Carlisle, and then marched southwards ; but the haste of the march, with the jealousies between the English royalists and the Scottish Presbyterians, kept away great numbers of both parties, though they were opposed to the ruling faction. The king arrived at Worcester on August 22nd, having been joined by very few of his supporters. He was followed closely by Cromwell. A battle took place on September 3rd, when, after a severe contest, the royalists were wholly defeated. Two thousand were killed, and ten thousand taken prisoners ; many perished in their flight, or were taken in their hiding places ; while the captives were, for the most part, actually sent as slaves to the colonies ; a large number were sold as such in Tothill Fields, on September 13th, to merchants of Barbadoes ; fifteen hundred were granted to merchants trading to Guinea ; they perished in slavery in that pestilential climate. The earl of Derby, the only man of rank who joined the king in England, was taken and executed. Lesley, with a considerable party of Scottish horse soldiers, retired northwards, but they were soon dispersed and mostly captured. The duke of Buckingham, with a few of the leaders, escaped with much difficulty.

The king fled from Worcester in the evening, and found refuge with a popish family at White Ladies, named Gifford, who committed him to the care of five brothers, woodmen or labourers, of the name of Penderel. One of them had charge of Boscobel, a lone house in the midst of woods, in a wild tract on the borders of Staffordshire and Shropshire ; the others lived in the neighbourhood, and all attended *him* or watched for his security. For several days he

was in great danger, being in the midst of his pursuers; but his humble protectors scorned to betray their trust. After a vain attempt to proceed from Madeley to Wales, he returned to Boscobel, where he met with one of his officers, colonel Careles. With him he was concealed for a whole day in the thick foliage of an oak, near a path in Boscobel Wood, while some searching for him passed close by, and explored the adjacent coppice; and another day he remained in the house. Boscobel not being considered secure, he was conducted about six miles by night; and for a night and a day he was concealed at Moseley Hall, where soldiers searching for him came to the door. From thence he departed for Bristol, colonel Lane having equipped him to ride before his daughter, as one of his tenant's sons. Miss Lane, afterwards lady Fisher, thus extricated Charles from the neighbourhood of his first retreat, which was already discovered, White Ladies having been strictly searched for him the same day that he was at Moseley, and Boscobel the day after he left it. A large reward was offered by the parliament for the seizure of the king's person. The Penderels were informed of this, but continued faithful. Strenuous endeavours were made, stimulated by avarice or hatred, to discover his retreat. But when God in his providence sees fit to protect any one, it is not in the power of man to seize him. No traces of the fugitive could be clearly ascertained till nearly two months afterwards, when it was known that he had escaped to the continent. The adventures of Charles, principally accompanied by lord Wilmot, till his arrival in France, were very romantic. They have been fully related, and include a series of hairbreadth escapes, seldom, if ever, equalled. He was disguised as a peasant; twice rode undiscovered many miles in the dress of a servant, before a lady mounted on a pillion; repeatedly passed through bodies of the parliament soldiery; he was often hid in out-buildings, or chambers formerly

constructed to hide popish priests. After being concealed in one of these places for several days at Trent House, near Sherborne, a vessel was engaged at Lyme to receive him and his attendants ; but the suspicion of the master's wife that her husband would get into trouble, prevented their escape ; and they had but just time to avoid detention upon the information of an hostler and a smith, who ascertained from the horseshoes of lord Wilmot's steed, that they had been wandering in various counties. After another series of adventures, and some farther narrow escapes, a vessel was engaged at Shoreham, and the king embarked from Brighton. He landed at Fescamp, in Normandy, October 17th, more than forty days after his flight from Worcester, during which time he traversed a large part of the southern counties ; it is calculated that nearly a hundred persons were intrusted with his secret, yet none betrayed him. Tattersall, the commander of the Brighton vessel, who discovered the king before he went on board, after the restoration brought his little bark up the Thames, and moored her opposite Whitehall. He received a small pension, which was paid to his descendants till the family became extinct, a few years ago. Many who read these pages have seen his tomb in Brighton churchyard. The Penderels and others were rewarded ; pensions are still paid to some of their descendants. The veneration with which the "royal oak" was regarded, ended in its destruction ; but the spot where it stood is pointed out, a tree from an acorn of the original oak marks the place.

Charles went to Paris, where he resided with the queen mother, under the protection of the French government ; with a scanty allowance, wholly inadequate to their support, the whole court was continually in distress.

Cromwell was received in London with much honour and many ceremonies. The grant of an estate of 4,000*l.* per annum, in addition to a former grant of

25,000*l.*, rewarded his services. Grants were also made to other commanders. Ireton had the stern virtue to decline what was offered, recommending that the state debts should first be paid. The national burdens were very heavy, being exacted by an excise and other oppressive measures, which increased their pressure. The monthly assessment amounted to the sum of 160,000*l.* It was, however, met by the people more readily than could have been expected.

Early in 1652, the colonies yet resisting submitted to the parliament, and in April an act was passed uniting Scotland with England as one Commonwealth. In Ireland, the long series of popish intrigues ended at last unfavourably to the royal authority; and, under the vigorous rule of the parliamentarians, the native leaders were crushed. Many were allowed to enter the service of foreign princes; while various plans were devised to reduce the number of natives, and to induce Protestants to settle in Ireland, which was treated more than ever as a conquered country. In Scotland, the English also triumphed. It is only necessary to say, in general terms, that Monk in Scotland, and Ireton in Ireland, were successful in reducing those countries to admit the authority of parliament, while admiral Blake caused the English flag to be respected by foreigners, and drove the royalist ships from the sea. Rupert had acted as a pirate instead of engaging in efficient warfare. Hostilities with Holland followed, in which, after several naval actions, the English triumphed.

Cromwell was raised to the height of power by the success at Worcester, which he called "a crowning mercy." When matters were in some degree settled, he summoned the principal members of the commons to a conference, where he put it to them, to consider how the government should be carried on, and to decide, if there was to be any thing monarchical, who should be the ruler. The military were desirous of a republic; but the lawyers recommended a limited



monarchy. Cromwell agreed ; but was not pleased when he found that the ruler thought of was one of the princes, who would consent to any conditions parliament might impose. He then led to other subjects of debate. It was now evident that many were jealous of his power. They sought to abridge it by reducing the army. This could only be done to a limited extent ; and petitions were presented, which charged the members with neglecting their duty. Cromwell then sounded Whitelock and other leaders as to his taking the monarchy. Some dissuaded him, urging that he already possessed all the real power of a monarch ; but it was evident that he would not be satisfied, unless he openly assumed the regal office. Several months passed in these deliberations ; there were many debates among the leaders ; various plans were proposed to dissolve the parliament ; but not one was agreed upon. Meanwhile, the house increased its number by new representatives. The more moderate sought to strengthen the Presbyterian party, which the military officers stoutly resisted.

After a long conference between Cromwell and his officers till midnight, on April 19th, 1653, they met again in the morning, when it was ascertained that the house of commons, headed by Vane, had resolved that day to pass a law for their dissolution, with various arrangements, providing for the election of another parliament, and opposed to the designs of Cromwell. He instantly determined on the course to be pursued, and went down to the house, followed by a company of musketeers. These he left in the lobby, while he entered the house in a plain dress. After listening to the debate, he rose and began a long speech. By degrees, he became violent in his language, charging the members with being self-interested, with acts of oppression, honouring the lawyers, and slighting the soldiers who had fought for them, declaring that the Lord had now chosen other instruments for his work. Being interrupted by sir Peter



CROMWELL DISPERSING THE MEMBERS OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Wentworth, an altercation followed, when, at Cromwell's call, a number of the soldiers entered. He then broke out into personal abuse, reproaching Vane and Whitelock, charging some with intemperance, others with licentiousness, and others with usury, and ordered the soldiers to clear the house. Harrison then led the speaker from the chair, while the members, about eighty in number, slowly retired, Cromwell exclaiming that they had forced him to act thus. He looked at the mace and said, "Take away that fool's bauble;" then seizing the papers on the table, and ordering the doors to be locked, he returned to Whitehall. In the afternoon he announced to the council of state, that the parliament being dissolved, their power also was at an end. Bradshaw replied with spirit, saying the parliament could not be dissolved by any power except its own; but there were soldiers at hand, they were forced to withdraw.

Thus, almost without a struggle, fell that mighty power which had held so severe a conflict with the king and peers of the realm. Over them it had triumphed; it had exercised unlimited power in its turn, had abused the success it obtained, and now fell, without resistance, before one of its officers and a small company of soldiers. The history of the preceding fifty years exhibits all parties, including the ecclesiastics, from the king to the commons, seeking their own objects; each exhibiting unhallowed eagerness for success; each also triumphing in its turn, and then cast down; each punishing the others; and each chastising itself. Thus all was overruled for accomplishing the Divine will; while such as turned aside to crooked ways were led "forth with the workers of iniquity," *Psa. cxv. 5*. And, as was exemplified in the case of these rulers, the public will ever view with indifference the fall of parties, who, like them, have attended chiefly to their own selfish views.

## THE PROTECTORATE.

SEVEN YEARS, FROM A.D. 1653, TO A.D. 1660.

CROMWELL hastened, without loss of time, to issue a declaration from the council of officers, vindicating the late proceedings, assigning reasons for dissolving the parliament, and directing all civil officers to proceed with their respective duties: addresses from many places were sent in return, approving what had been done. A council of state was formed, consisting of eight military officers, four other persons, and Cromwell. For some time directions for the government were issued, some by one of these councils, some by the other, and some by the protector himself; who, in fact, exercised the supreme power in a more arbitrary manner than Charles had been enabled to do. Thus the laws are silenced by the din of warfare; and such, too often, has been the result of a successful appeal to arms by the people: but there have been exceptions, as in the case of the United Provinces and Switzerland, the people have been in possession and exercise of constitutional rights, and even Cromwell cannot be spoken of as completely successful. But, on June 8th, 1653, Cromwell summoned one hundred and fifty-six individuals by name, chiefly of the Independent party, and recommended by the congregational churches, to meet at Whitehall on July 4th, to consider as to the administration of affairs. One hundred and twenty met, when the protector, after an address, presented to them a writing under his own hand and seal, stating that, with the advice of the council of officers, he devolved the supreme authority of the commonwealth on them, to act as a parliament till November in the following

year, when they were to choose their successors, who also were to act for a year. Rouse, provost of Eton, was chosen speaker, but this assembly was generally called "Praise-God Barebone's parliament," from the name of a leather-seller, who took an active part in the debates. The members were, for the most part, men of independent circumstances, as well as of the religious views so called; however mistaken they may have been in many respects, they acted with more than usual attention to the dictates of their own consciences, refusing to become the tools of him by whom they were appointed. But it was a matter of surprise to many, that the more respectable part of this assembly should assume the supreme authority, considering that they derived it only from Cromwell and his officers.

The naval war with Holland continued. In June, Monk was victorious in a sea-fight off the North Foreland; Blake was still more successful about two months afterwards, in an action off the coast of Holland. This was the seventh and last engagement between the fleets in about twelve months, though peace was not concluded till the April following. The activity with which the English government vindicated its power with foreign nations, was shown by an attack on a French squadron in October, when several ships were taken.

The event which excited most attention at home was the trial of Lilburne, who returned from banishment, and was tried for that offence. After some days spent in preliminary discussions, during which he argued against the course pursued, his trial proceeded. It lasted three days, ending in his acquittal, notwithstanding the efforts both of the parliament and the protector; but the popular voice was with Lilburne: his liberation was hailed as a triumph.

The government in reality was with Cromwell; he used the council of officers, but they were only his creatures, holding their commission by his appoint-

ment, and during his pleasure. The so-called parliament discussed a variety of reforms and fundamental changes ; these were urged by the majority, who were inclined both to religious and political fanaticism. A new code of laws, and the abolition of a settled provision for the ministry, were among their plans : in five months' time the nation at large was sufficiently alarmed at their proceedings to be ready for any farther alteration, likely to produce a more steady system. Early on December 12th, when only a part had assembled, Sydenham, by direction of Cromwell, moved that it would be better for them not to act any longer, but to confess their inability, and give up their authority to the lord general. The speaker hastily declared the resolution carried ; and going to Cromwell with fifty of the members who were his supporters, and the mace, without waiting for the arrival of the absentees, who would have opposed the proceeding, they declared what they had done, and resigned the supreme authority to him. About thirty members refused to join them, who engaged in prayer till a body of soldiers cleared the house.

The next act was a declaration from the council of officers, stating that the government should in future be in one person, namely Oliver Cromwell, under the title of the "Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland." This was communicated on December 16th, to the civic authorities of London. But England could not be ruled without some form of constitutional government. The instrument contained provisions for a parliament to be called every three years, having not more than four hundred members for England, thirty for Ireland, and thirty for Scotland, to be elected by counties and boroughs, not to be dissolved till five months after they assembled, and their enactments were to become law, even though the protector refused to confirm them. It provided for the appointment of a council by the parliament, which, with the protector, might make

laws during the intervals of the parliament's sitting, and gave the protector, whose office was elective by the council, not hereditary, the power of making war and peace ; in fact, conferred authority, in many respects greater than that which James I. and Charles I. had failed to establish. This was the natural result of the convulsed state of affairs that for many years had agitated the nation. Toleration was declared for all, except papists and episcopalians. The same day, Cromwell was inaugurated with much pomp in the chancery court at Westminster Hall, when he took an oath to observe the new constitution. A sheathed sword was presented to him by Lambert, on which he laid aside his own, thus signifying that he was not to govern by military authority, but by power given him by the constitution.

Thus an individual, without the shadow of hereditary right, or representative election, obtained regal power over the three kingdoms ! Fain would Cromwell have assumed the kingly title and crown, but neither royalists nor republicans would submit to this ; instead of the crown being placed on his head, he was obliged to be content with a gold band round his hat ; and a suit and cloak of black velvet instead of royal robes. He had now all the essentials of kingly power, but with the regal authority he had also to submit to the pains and penalties, which are well described by the poet, as occupying—

“ The hollow crown  
That rounds the mortal temples of a king.”

And after all, he was only

“ Allow'd a breath, a little scene  
To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks,  
When death came at the last, and—farewell king.”

The nation, wearied with the recent struggles, did indeed submit, but it was not with hearty acquiescence ; and from that hour, the short space allotted

Cromwell upon earth was filled with disquiet. He was continually exposed to a series of plots and designs upon his life, while he suffered from the accusations of conscience, reproaching him for the crimes committed to attain the giddy height he had gained, and for the acts he found necessary to preserve himself on that bad elevation. His course teaches a great moral lesson. For a time, doubtless, he might be regarded as a sincere though unscrupulous opponent of tyranny and illegal oppression. When these were subdued, it was in his power to have done much to secure the civil and religious rights of the nation, while restoring lawful authority. It is true, that there was but too much cause to distrust the sincerity of those to whom he was opposed; he stated this to his confidants, especially dwelling upon the utter want of all moral worth in Charles II., as preventing any reliance being placed upon him; but it did not justify his listening to the suggestions of the demon of ambition, and clutching at supreme power for himself. This, however, was his decision; thereby his name is handed down, branded as an usurper and as a tyrant, though his most decided enemies cannot deny that he possessed many laudable qualities, and studied the national welfare, and showed no common powers in bending those around him to support his views, though some of them were men of stern integrity.

The authority of Cromwell was confirmed by the acknowledgment of foreign powers. Ambassadors from France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and other countries, attended his court. A treaty of peace with Holland was signed in August, 1654, which, on the whole, was advantageous to England. The Dutch had lost more than 1000 ships of war and merchant vessels during the hostilities. The States agreed not to countenance Charles II., who found it necessary to leave Paris to reside at Cologne.

The determination of the protector to vindicate



the national honour, was shown by the execution of the brother of the Portuguese ambassador, for an assassination committed on a person he mistook for colonel Gerard, with whom he had had a quarrel. The colonel himself was beheaded the same day, for conspiring against the protector's life with Vowell and Henshaw: the latter appears to have induced others to join in the design for the purpose of betraying them. The Spanish ambassador offered Cromwell the assistance of his master, should he make any effort to obtain the title of king.

The new charter was, in many respects, not unacceptable to the English nation, while Scotland and Ireland could not offer any effectual resistance. The Scottish general assembly attempted to sit in July, 1653, but the members were dispersed. A declaration of the protector announced that Scotland was united to England. Monk was successful in wholly quelling both the presbyterians and royalists, though Middleton remained in arms with a few royalists till the following year.

In Ireland, the violent and senseless proceedings of the Papists ruined the royal cause. The popish prelates even offered the sovereignty of that island to the duke of Lorraine, one of the infamous persecuting family of Guise. His partizans were disappointed, the parliamentarians were every where successful, though Ireton, their general, died of the plague. He was succeeded by Fleetwood, who became governor in September, 1654, after marrying the widow of his predecessor, the daughter of Cromwell. Fleetwood caused many of the native Irish, the chief actors in the massacres of the Protestants, to be executed; among them was the notorious sir Phelim O'Neal, to whom pardon was offered if he could produce the commission from Charles I., which he pretended to possess when he began those atrocities; but he could not, and when at the gallows, he declared that he never had received such an autho-

city. This clears the memory of Charles I. from a heavy charge, to which he had given countenance by the subsequent intercourse with the popish persecuting leaders already noticed. It is only necessary to add, that the policy of the protector's government towards Ireland was to colonize it, thereby rewarding many of the military who claimed a recompense for their services.

The new parliament was ordered to meet on September 3rd, the day of Cromwell's two great victories of Dunbar and Worcester; the members assembled, though it was the Lord's day, and constituted themselves, after attending public worship at Westminster Abbey. The house then adjourned till the next day, when after a sermon at the abbey, Cromwell addressed the assembly in the Painted Chamber, by a speech of three hours, entering into detailed statements of public affairs, interspersed with many quotations from Scripture. His only outward distinction was continuing to wear his hat. Lenthall was appointed speaker. The first debates were as to the authority on which the protector had acted: these continuing for some days, and engaging public attention, Cromwell ordered Harrison to be imprisoned, and some other precautions to be taken. He then went down to the house, where he made a long harangue, stating the errors of the parliament, and detailing what had led to his own advancement, declaring four matters to be of fundamental importance: 1. That the supreme power should be in the parliament, and one supreme ruler; 2. That the parliament should not be perpetual; 3. That neither of the ruling powers should have the sole command of the army; and 4. That there should be liberty of conscience, without permitting persecution or profaneness. After this address he required the members to sign a pledge to be faithful and true to the recent arrangement, by which some of the republicans were excluded. But the debates continued, and it was carried by a



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN THE TIME OF THE  
PROTECTORATE.

majority of more than two to one, that the protectorate should be elective, the successor being appointed by the parliament, if sitting at the time of the decease of the actual protector, or by the council, if it took place when that body was not assembled. This and other indications of reluctance to follow his will, induced Cromwell to take the earliest opportunity to dissolve the parliament on January 22nd, 1654, alleging that five lunar months were meant, not five calendar months, rebuking the members in a high tone, and repeatedly declaring his trust in God as to the course he should pursue. Besides the debates that affected the protector's authority, several matters had engaged the attention of the house. It was voted that no new tax should be levied but by parliament; the revenue was examined, and reported to be 1,200,000*l.* per annum, 200,000*l.* of which was settled on the protector. Some theological proceedings against individuals indicated an unwillingness to allow toleration, but the house voted, that the true reformed protestant Christian religion, as contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, should be asserted and maintained, and no other, as the public profession of the nation; this principle is a decided declaration against persecution.

In the preceding September, the protector had a narrow escape for his life; thinking that as he could direct the commonwealth, he could drive his own carriage, he tried to do so with a new set of horses; but he was thrown from his seat, and his life endangered.

One good feature of Cromwell's government was his encouragement of men of talent, and even of piety; as for the public profession of religion, Baxter describes the pains taken to appoint ministers of real piety; it is evident that a very large proportion of the parishes throughout the land were served by such characters. Care was also taken in civil matters. Milton was made Latin secretary to the protector,

but still better appointments were those of Owen to be his chaplain, and the truly devout lawyer Hale to be a judge, though he had pleaded for Strafford and Laud, and would have been advocate to king Charles I., had the king submitted to a trial. Hale unwillingly accepted the judicial office, but was advised to aid the administration of justice, though under an usurper. He discharged his duty faithfully, refusing to be influenced or intimidated by Cromwell; and when, on one occasion, he was reproached by the usurper, who told him he was not fit to be a judge, he quietly replied: "It is very true." The respect of the protector to valuable men was further shown by honourable attention to the funeral of archbishop Usher.

Blake also, who was a well-wisher to the royal cause, deemed it his duty to support his country; by a series of brilliant exploits he rescued many English from slavery at Tunis and Algiers, while he awed the professedly Christian powers of the Mediterranean. As to naval and military affairs, even the decided republicans who were officers in the army, were far superior in conduct and character to most of the royalist commanders. Penn and Venables were sent on an expedition to the West Indies, intended to lessen the power of Spain. They failed in an attack on Hispaniola, but conquered Jamaica in May, 1655, which has ever since remained one of the chief colonial possessions of England, though at that time its value was not duly estimated. Blake was successful against the Spanish fleet, and at Teneriffe made many rich prizes. But Cromwell found that war, however successful as to empty glory, or even in piratical acquirement of wealth, was in reality costly to the nation, which obliged him to oppressive measures against the royalists to extort money, and afterwards to keep down their discontent. A tenth part of the property of all possessed of more than 100*l.* per annum, who had borne arms for the king,

was exacted without reference to any former compositions; this was done on the authority of the protector alone. Still there was not that speculation or confusion in accounts which the exchequer witnessed in preceding or subsequent times. Whitelock describes the care and regularity with which the commissioners of the treasury made a weekly examination of the receipts and payments of the revenue.

The counsellors about the king discouraged attempts to restore royalty, as rash and ill-judged at this moment; one, however, was so extensive as to induce the king to proceed in disguise to the coast of Holland, to be ready for a general rising in his favour; but it ended by a rash effort at Salisbury, March 11th, 1655, where sir Joseph Wagstaff, with about 200 men, entered that city during the assizes, and seized the sheriff and the two judges. He was disappointed in his expectations of support on proceeding westward, when on the 14th he was attacked by some parliament horse. The leader escaped, but Penruddock, Grove, Jones, and about forty others, were taken; the two former, with some others, were executed in May; the rest of the prisoners were sold for slaves to the West Indies. This unfavourable result stopped the other risings; it led to severe enactments against the clergy and Romish priests. Many leading royalists were obliged to find securities for their future submission. Cromwell also found it needful to treat Bradshaw, Vane, Harrison, and other republicans with severity, while he imprisoned lord Willoughby, and several royalists.

A more pleasing incident was the interest taken by the protector and the public in general, in the sufferings of the persecuted Vaudois of Piedmont. A collection of nearly 40,000*l.* was made for their relief; while strong and repeated supplications were sent in their behalf to the popish rulers, who had ordered their villages to be devastated by massacres and spoliation. Such was the power and vigour of

his administration that the persecutors dared not accomplish their design, which even the modern Romish historians admit was a war of extermination. The pages of Leger and Morland exhibit the real meaning of that gentle phrase ; and Milton has portrayed the horrors of this persecution in one of his sonnets, which graphically describes the cruelties of Popery.

“Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter’d saints, whose bones  
Lie scatter’d on the Alpine mountains cold ;  
Even them who kept thy faith so pure of old,  
When all our fathers worshipp’d stocks and stones.  
Forget not, in thy book record their groans  
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold ;  
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese that roll’d  
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans,  
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they  
To heaven. Their martyr’d blood and ashes sow,  
O’er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway  
The triple tyrant ; that from these may grow  
A hundredfold, who having learn’d thy way,  
Early may shun the Babylonian woe.”

An anecdote related of admiral Blake shows the vigour of the protector’s government, with the uncompromising spirit in which that power was exerted. The English fleet being at Malaga, some seamen derided a procession of the consecrated wafer, on which the priest instigated the mob to attack and ill-treat them. A scuffle ensued, from which the sailors escaped with some injury. Blake demanded reparation, and that the priest who had caused the tumult should be given up to him. The governor alleged that he had no authority over one of the apostolical succession. The English admiral’s reply was, that unless the priest was given up he would cannonade the town. This sufficed. The priest was sent on board Blake’s vessel, and began with a humble apology. The admiral at once told him he did not mean to countenance any ill-conduct in his men, nor would he permit them to insult the religious observances of any country ; but that, on the other hand, he would not allow them to be assaulted and ill-treated by a

mob, because they did not recognise the idolatrous worship of Rome—that he would have punished them for any indecorous conduct, had a complaint been properly made to him; but now, as the priest had taken upon himself to inflict punishment, he should take no further notice of the affair, than by cautioning the priest and all concerned to avoid insulting any English Protestants. This was sufficient to stop public acts of persecution or violence; but the inquisition did not hesitate to continue its cruel proceedings upon those secreted in its dungeons.

The usurper found that he could only retain his power by severe measures. In October, the publication of newspapers, which had become general during the recent agitated period, was forbidden without the approval of the secretary of state; orders against the publication of unlicensed books and pamphlets were promulgated: but this measure was not peculiar to that period, it had been pursued under the preceding monarchs, and was persevered in subsequently. A still more arbitrary course was the dividing England into twelve districts, each being placed under the government of a major-general intrusted with great and unconstitutional powers, and from whom the only appeal was to the protector. Whitelock, who has been named as an opposer of Cromwell's ambition, was silenced by employment as an ambassador to Sweden, with a large remuneration. In 1657, he argued in support of the regal title being given.

Charles left Paris in June, 1654; soon after he settled at Cologne, where he continued during two years and a half. Informations of his proceedings, and of the intercourse held with him by the royalists, were continually sent by some of those about him. One of these named Manning, was detected; he admitted receiving bribes from Cromwell, but asserted he had always sent false intelligence. This was the case in the intercepted document which led to his detection; but it was ascertained that his previous



communications had caused the apprehension and death of some royalists. He was, therefore, executed as a spy.

The Spanish war has already been mentioned. Connected with that event, were the proceedings of Sexby, a leveller, who had to leave England when the authority of the protector was established. He offered to assist the Spanish court against Cromwell, by raising an insurrection in England, if assisted by the English and Irish soldiers then serving for Spain. To render the effort more availing, that court put Charles and Sexby into communication, and the levellers and royalists were to make a common effort against Cromwell. Of course, such a negotiation was insincere on both parts. However, it alarmed the French ministers, then united with Cromwell, and they succeeded in sowing discord in the royal court.

The retirement of Charles to Cologne has been mentioned; but some notice must be taken of the proceedings of his court while at Paris. It was agitated by the intrigues of his adherents: but the marquis of Ormond and sir Edward Hyde obtained and kept the lead. Charles himself neglected business, and gave himself up to an open course of amusement and profligacy, while his attendants were actually in want of bread. Clarendon speaks of them as almost starved. His profligacy assisted to make him the victim of superstition. The Romish priesthood and their adherents represented that his only chance of restoration was the support from the popish power. He himself applied to the pope for pecuniary aid, promising toleration to the Romanists. But on the other hand, the Presbyterians, who also offered to support his cause, urged contrary views. In this dilemma, he ostensibly promised to continue to support that church for which his father had suffered so much, but in secret he seems to have been very indifferent to religious belief, and, therefore, listened to *that religion* which promised him most ease in sin.

There can be no doubt that he was in heart, if not in open profession, already a Papist. The duke of York, less profligate and more sincere, openly became a member of the church of Rome. He afterwards told a Protestant prelate, that one of his father's chaplains having taught him that Christ was really and substantially present in the consecrated elements, in some inconceivable manner, he found no difficulty in receiving the fuller and more decided doctrine of the church of Rome on this subject. The simple view of this Divine institution is plainly set forth in Scripture, which expressly speaks of these elements as bread and wine, to be received in remembrance of the atonement made by our blessed Redeemer, when, once for all, by one sacrifice or offering for himself, he purchased salvation for his people. It will ever be found, that when there is departure from, or adding to, this simple view, there is a giving way to a main principle of Popery; and all the other monstrous dogmas of that faith will then be necessarily received.

Peace with France was signed in October, 1655, when the French king was forced to acknowledge the title of Cromwell, as the protector both of France and England; an useless and gratuitous insult, but which gratified the national pride of the English people. Cromwell showed more wisdom in promoting measures for the encouragement of commerce; it is certain that the foreign trade of England prospered much under his government, far more than under the kings that preceded and followed him as rulers. He listened to an application from the Jews, and was willing to give them leave to settle openly in England; but the divines to whom he referred pronounced against such toleration, and Prynne wrote against it. Cromwell, therefore, only ventured to connive at their proceedings.

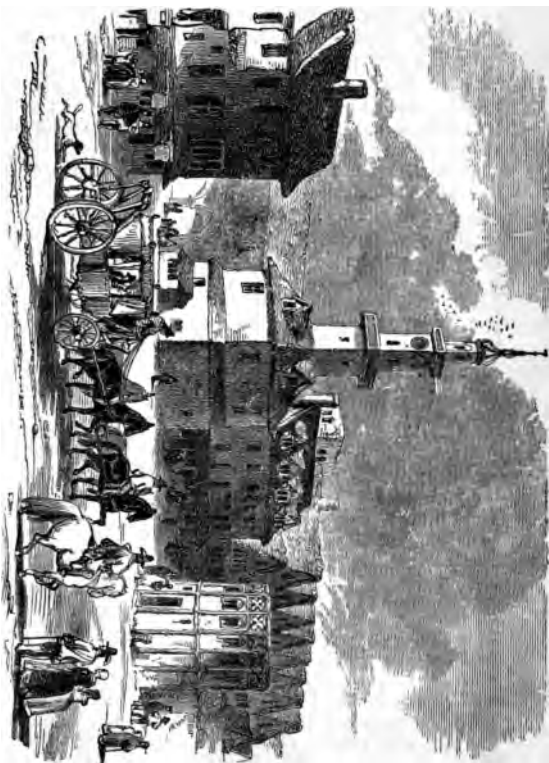
The third parliament of Cromwell met September 17th, 1656. Widdrington was chosen speaker; but no

member was allowed to take his seat till approved by the council. Nearly a fourth part of those originally chosen were excluded. Ninety-eight joined in openly protesting against this course, deprecating any attempt which, they said, might, be made to cover it by religious observances. He thought it best not to resent this act, but to allow the angry feeling to pass away in words, while he admitted many of his opponents to familiar intercourse. Much of the attention of parliament during this session was taken up with proceedings against Naylor, who after adopting the principles of George Fox, the leader of the religious body designated as Quakers, went farther into many acts of very wild fanaticism, for which he was tried, and punished with branding, the pillory, and whipping, as a blasphemer. But severities did not abate the zeal of his disciples. This punishment being inflicted by the parliament, without trial by law, gave an opportunity for Cromwell to interfere, with the view of showing that some farther alterations tending to monarchy were needed. The oppressions of the major-generals, and the detection of a royalist plot, were also used as grounds for complaint to promote the designs of the protector.

The severest part of the punishment of Naylor was inflicted in the most public part of the city, at the conduit on Cornhill, afterwards the front of the Royal Exchange. The locality now presents a very different appearance ; the delineation of it as it then appeared is presented on the opposite page.

The partizans of Cromwell were active in the house ; on March 24th, 1657, a majority of one hundred and twenty-three against sixty-two, resolved to offer Cromwell the dignity and title of king. He hesitated for some time. At first, he pretended to object and disregard such an honour ; but secretly sounded the opinions of his longest and most tried military supporters. They decidedly opposed such a *measure*, telling him it was a snare laid for him by

CORNHILL, A.D. 1656, WHERE THE ROYAL EXCHANGE WAS AFTERWARDS BUILT.



the royalists. A rising of the most violent republicans, known as "the fifth monarchy men," was soon put down; but it tended to show general discontent. Some of Cromwell's own immediate connexions brought a petition from the army, praying the parliament to discountenance all who urged their general to take the title of king. This was decisive: after lengthened consideration, and debates with his advisers, finding that the army would not consent, Cromwell was forced, though unwillingly, to summon the house, and with pretended humility he declined the offer, on May 12th. He was also obliged to concede to the parliament the power of judging who should be its members: but, in return, he obtained the power of nominating his own successor, and of appointing another deliberative house, to consist of from forty to seventy members of his own selection. An oath of allegiance to the protector himself was imposed; a permanent revenue of one million three hundred thousand pounds was also voted. The parliament then adjourned for six months, on June 26th, after the protector had been again solemnly inaugurated. Towards the close of this year, one of Cromwell's daughters was married to lord Falconbridge, and another to a grandson of the earl of Warwick, which alliances were very displeasing to the cavaliers.

The general administration was marked by extreme vigilance. Spies were employed at home and in foreign countries; the intercourse between the royalists and the exiled monarch was more strictly watched than before. Intelligence was procured, so that they could not make any movement unknown to Cromwell. For the most part he was contented with repressing their attempts, by confining the leaders before the appointed time for action arrived. Some extraordinary narratives are given of the manner in which the most concealed secrets of foreign courts were obtained by the protector. A

large sum was annually expended in these proceedings.

The plot already noticed emanated from Sexby; and it is but too plain that Charles and his ministers did not discountenance designs for the assassination of Cromwell. An old parliamentary officer, named Syndercombe, was the principal actor. The plan was to raise a fire at Whitehall, and destroy the protector during the confusion that would follow. The fire was deposited in the chapel at Whitehall, on January 9th: but intelligence had been given, and the parties were apprehended when leaving the building. Syndercombe was condemned, but was found dead on February 13th: he was to have been executed a few hours afterwards. The tardiness of the Spanish court delayed the expedition planned to invade England; but Sexby continued his efforts till he was apprehended and imprisoned, in July, 1657; he died in confinement about six months afterwards.

Admiral Blake died at sea in August. His body was brought to England, where it was interred in Westminster Abbey, with much ceremony. He is honoured as the first officer of that day who roused the courage of the seamen, and led them to close conflict with their opponents.

On January 20th, 1658, the newly summoned house of peers met, as well as the commons. In the former, were Haslerig, Hewson, and Pride, who had been found troublesome among the commons, as well as Whitelock, Ingoldsby, Pack, and other willing partizans of Cromwell. Some of the old peers were also nominated, but only lords Eure and Falconbridge would take their seats. Haslerig also refused to be thus silenced. The parliament, on this occasion, was addressed by the protector in the ordinary regal style, "My lords and gentlemen." The commons protested against this newly constituted house of peers, and Cromwell finding that his scheme would

he decidedly opposed, dissolved the parliament on February 4th, declaring he would sooner keep a flock of sheep by a woodside, than be troubled with such a government. He followed this with strong measures to repress any manifestation of popular discontent. Lambert, who had originally framed the constitution appointing a protector, refused to take the new oath of allegiance; he was dismissed from his offices, but with a pension of two thousand pounds. Cromwell had called his son Richard to court, appointing him chancellor of the university of Oxford.

Amongst other proceedings showing attention to religion, may be mentioned the countenance and support given to Walton in that great work, the Polyglot Bible. Whitelock also relates that, by order of the parliament, several learned men met at his house to consider the English version of the Bible, when, after several meetings and conferences with persons best versed in the oriental languages, it was resolved that, notwithstanding some small mistakes in the authorised translation, it was the best of the translations in the world. This has been repeatedly declared, persons much opposed to each other in many respects have agreed therein. Surely this is a cause for thankfulness to all who use that version, it should make them more fully estimate a book which has such undoubted testimony to its value and general accuracy.

In January, Ormond visited London in disguise, where he conversed with leaders of the different parties, but found all were adverse to take active measures for the king, unless he could be supported by a foreign force. Sir Richard Willis, one of "the knot," as it was called, who were supposed to direct the royalists, advised that the opponents of the king, who were now ready to quarrel with each other, should be allowed to do so. Willis seems to have been in the confidence of both parties, and at times he deceived each. In February he gave information that Ormond

was in London, and then advised that nobleman to hasten away.

In March, another plot of the cavaliers was discovered, and the protector's alarm was farther excited by a pamphlet, entitled, "Killing no Murder," supposed to have been written by Sexby, but more probably the work of colonel Titus. Cromwell's uneasiness increased to a morbid extent; he wore armour under his clothes, carried loaded pistols, and continually changed his bed-chamber without previous notice. In June, sir Henry Slingsby and doctor Hewet suffered as traitors. The fate of the latter was much regretted. Two of Cromwell's daughters earnestly interceded for his life, but in vain; though he had performed the marriage ceremony for the one, and the other was his frequent hearer.

A special court of justice was appointed for the trial of those engaged in the conspiracy, instead of the usual trial by jury; but when several were acquitted, this mode of trial was discontinued, and the rest being sent to the usual courts of judicature, were condemned. In the autumn, the English power abroad was increased by Dunkirk being captured by the French, and ceded to England. With the assistance of the protector, the French occupied a large portion of Flanders.

At home, the protector became more unpopular. He was involved in a dispute with the legal authorities, grounded on the refusal of a London trader to pay duties imposed without the authority of parliament. This was treading in the illegal and dangerous course of the late monarch: but Cromwell avoided extremities by employing his personal influence with some old associates; also he abstained from that decided interference with religious feelings by the persecuting proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, which had so much tended to the downfall of Charles I.; and though he sent soldiers to disperse



congregations assembled to celebrate Christmas, he did not allow of farther proceedings than a short detention in custody. His interference with the liturgical services appears to have arisen mainly from those who resorted to them being decided royalists. The quakers at this time were the chief sufferers for their religious views: but their proceedings at that day involved much that was contrary to quiet and public order, and widely differed from their subsequent course.

The protector now seemed to have attained the height of power and glory, at home and abroad. In many respects, he was, indeed, exalted; but all was hollow. In addition to the personal enmity of a large part of the nation, his finances were in disorder, and no means for supply could be found. The anxieties of his mind increased so much, that he left matters to take their own course.

The life and authority of Cromwell were nearly closed. Soon after doctor Hewet's execution, Mrs. Claypole, the favourite daughter of the protector, died. Of her he had thus written in a letter to her sister Ireton: "Your sister Claypole is, I trust, in mercye, exercised with some perplexed thoughts. Shee sees her owne vanitye and carnal minde, bewailing itt. She seeks after, as I hope alsoe, that which will satisfie: and thus to bee a seeker, is to be of the best sect next a finder; and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee at the end. Happie seeker; happie finder. Who ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sense of self-vanitie and badness? Who ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe less in desier, and lesse than pressing after full enjoyment? Deere hart, presse on; lett not husband, lett not any thinge coole thy affections after Christ."

In her last sickness, Mrs. Claypole remonstrated seriously with her father, for his acts of severity and oppression to secure his ill-gotten power. This de-

pressed him much ; and he was aware of the increasing disposition both in the republicans and the royalists to take his life. These feelings harassed his mind, while the continual employment of the precautions already mentioned, both evinced and increased his mental sufferings.

In August, he suffered from gout and fever. These were serious maladies when added to his mental troubles. It was soon evident that he was not likely to recover. Becoming aware of his state, he prepared for death ; but rather by clinging to an idea that he had once been in a state of grace, and therefore could not finally be lost, than with the well-grounded and joyful hope which the dying Christian would desire to entertain and confide in. His last hours were gloomy ; he expired on September 3rd, 1658, aged 60, having held the protectorate only during four years and eight months. That day Cromwell had noted as the day of his two greatest successes, the battles of Dunbar and Worcester ; but now it was marked by his death, while the superstitions of the multitude were excited by a most dreadful storm of wind which occurred the day preceding.

Thus Oliver Cromwell went to his account. His person is described by a contemporary. " His body was well compact and strong ; his stature, under six feet by about two inches ; his head so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop both, of a vast treasury of natural parts." His life, especially its closing years, affords much matter for admonition and serious reflection, but it is best left to the reader's own reflections, as was done in these pages in the case of his monarch, whom he and others hurried to an untimely grave. The remark of Clarendon may be added, that he was one whom his very enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time ; and that those who have written most violently against his public character, admit that his private deportment does not deserve censure.

Two centuries have not sufficed to allow the character of either Cromwell or Charles to be justly appreciated. The most contradictory circumstances are recorded of each, so that extensive and minute examination is needed by all who wish to enter fully into details: but even a summary view of their histories may be useful, and deserves especial consideration at a period when coming events, casting their shadows before, appear to many to indicate in several respects a recurrence of circumstances similar to those which then agitated the nation, and shook it severely to its centre. But we may be thankful that there are also essential points of difference, and none more important than the more correct understanding at the present time respecting religious liberty and the rights of conscience, though there are too many who would deny their exercise. May these important privileges never be resigned! Let Englishmen turn from all who would trifle with these inestimable blessings. May none be suffered to dictate to the soul, feeling deeply anxious on the solemn question, "How should man be just with God?" Let none be suffered to silence the inward monitor by the strong arm of power, or by the wiles of flattery. And let it not be forgotten, that whatever might really be the actuating principles of the heart of Cromwell, it is indisputable, that his cause prospered by the observance of at least outward morality, and the acknowledgment of scriptural truth, though perhaps awfully perverted; while it is equally evident, that the cause of his opponents suffered and declined from the profligacy of both leaders and followers, and the open disregard of real religion so general among the cavaliers. Some exceptions there were; the mind rests with satisfaction on such characters as Evelyn, when pained by those of Wilmot and Goring, and others of the royalists.

An impartial examination of the character and proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, shows that he did *not act* upon deep-laid ambitious plans, or from a

desire to aggrandize his family. However mistaken his views, there seems to be no reason to doubt that he considered he was following the path of duty, and that his course was best calculated to promote the public welfare; although it is equally certain, that in many respects he was wrong, and that he did commit acts of oppression and adopt unwarrantable courses, from the desire of self-preservation, or to suit his own convenience. This view of his protectorate will go far to account for two things: first, that the nation really prospered under his administration; and, secondly, why the system of government fell to pieces almost directly after his death. He did not, like other usurpers of ancient and modern times, leave the nation exhausted and impoverished by exactions made to uphold his government; and though he had strengthened his family in some degree by alliances and other means, his removal left them without any organized support.

Only two of the four sons of Oliver Cromwell survived their father. The eldest died young. The second fell in action during the late war with Scotland. Richard, the third son and eldest survivor, was destined for the law: he had associated a good deal with the cavaliers, whom he joined in their free course of life. Henry, the youngest son, served in the army from an early age; he went with his father to Ireland, where he afterwards was lord deputy. After the death of the late king, Richard married, and lived as a country gentleman in Hampshire till 1654, when his father sent for him to court; but he was only appointed a lord of trade, a member of the new house of peers, and chancellor of the university of Oxford.

Whether the protector thought lightly of the abilities of Richard, or feared to alarm his republican supporters, is not clear; and though the council declared Richard to be his father's successor, asserting that he was so appointed in the presence of some of

that body the night before Oliver's death, it is by no means certain that such an appointment was made. The new protector, however, was publicly proclaimed on September 4th, without the least opposition, while abject and fulsome addresses were sent him from a very large number of public bodies, assuring him of their adherence to him with their lives and fortunes. A different feeling prevailed in Scotland, where the ministers did not hesitate to pray for the exiled, and those in captivity, that they might be restored.

Beneath this calm, a storm was preparing. The royalists were for the moment silent, seeming to be struck with amazement. The republicans, whose leaders were among the officers of the army, determined shortly to end the rule of the son of the protector. Fleetwood may be regarded as their chief: but suffering the moment for immediate action to pass by, he sought to promote his schemes by obtaining the command of the army, to which he was appointed October 14th. It soon was evident that this party would come into collision with Richard, who looked for the support of his brother Henry and the army in Ireland, and the aid of Monk with the army in Scotland.

For a time the public attention was engrossed by the magnificent funeral of the late protector. The body was placed in state at Somerset House; but a private interment soon became necessary, while an effigy remained for several weeks with all the insignia of pomp, and a magnificent funeral procession was appointed to convey the supposed remains to Westminster Abbey, on November 23rd. The expense of this pageantry is said to have amounted to sixty thousand pounds. Noble, who gives a minute description, states it at twenty-eight thousand pounds, of which considerably more than one thousand pounds was expended in banners and *escutcheons, and heraldic pomp.*

A parliament was soon after summoned. The exhausted state of the public finances rendered this necessary; but it was evident, that although many members were chosen under the influence of the ruling powers, by a return to the system of elections by boroughs, there was a decided intention to dispute the authority of Richard. It was calculated that about half the members were disposed to support the new protector; that about fifty were decided, active republicans, led by Vane, Lambert, Haslerig, Ludlow, and others, joined by Fairfax; while a somewhat larger number were called moderates, or neuters between the two preceding parties: but many of these were in reality royalists, with some of whom, Hyde, then one of the active counsellors of the exiled king, held constant intercourse.

The acknowledgment of Richard as the rightful successor of his father, was the first business that engaged attention. Long debates ensued, which at last were ended by a sort of agreement that Richard should be recognised as protector, but that his powers should be limited. The next subject was the new house of peers: they were not fully acknowledged, though the commons agreed, for the present, to "transact business with them." Many complaints of extortion and oppression followed, which were far from satisfactory to the military leaders, by whom these proceedings had, for the most part, been effected. Among other matters, it was declared that the price of the persons sold at Barbadoes as concerned in the rising of Penruddock, was 1,550lbs. of sugar each, "more or less according to their working faculties." Among them were divines, officers, and gentlemen, who were treated as beasts of burden, and lodged in sties worse than those of hogs in England. Secretary Thurlow was also reflected upon, for having signed illegal mandates of Cromwell, ordering the transportation of obnoxious individuals without trial.

There were two military councils : one sitting at Whitehall, under Falconberg, Ingoldsby, Whalley, Goffe, and others, whose object was to support the protector ; the other at Wallingford House, under Fleetwood, whose views were to limit the power of Richard. A third soon began to sit at St. James's, consisting of officers of a lower grade and more reckless spirit, guided by Lambert, Desborough, and others, whose efforts were directed to support what was called "the good old cause." A "humble representation and petition," instigated by this body, was presented to Richard, who forwarded it to the house of commons, where it was treated with neglect. The officers, however, acted with independence, they established a council of their leaders, seeking to make the approval of the death of Charles I. a token of union. It soon was requisite to adopt decisive measures. The parliament voted that no meetings of the military should be held, without their approval and that of the protector. This brought on a decided collision. Desborough told the protector, that the parliament must be dissolved by his authority, or the army would disperse the members. The immediate advisers of Richard recommended him to comply, and the parliament was dissolved by a commission, April 22nd, 1659.

This proceeding was a mistake fatal to his interests ; it was generally felt to be a resignation of power by the protector. Many of his supporters joined Fleetwood at Wallingford House, while others sought to secure themselves by retiring from the court : but Fleetwood's supporters were themselves limited by the lower and more republican officers, who required that the long parliament should be restored, on the ground that its interruption by Cromwell was contrary to law.

To this proceeding there were many objections ; but it was adopted. The members were summoned to resume proceedings, in the names of Fleetwood

and his council, which virtually showed that Richard no longer exercised the chief authority. Lenthall, with about forty members of the old parliament, began their sittings under the protection of the soldiery who had expelled them from their house in 1653. A large body of members of that parliament still existed: of one hundred and ninety-four of the Presbyterians expelled in 1648, nearly one hundred endeavoured to take their seats, but were not admitted. Prynne alone gained entrance for a few hours. After some days, seventy of them were allowed to sit as subscribers of "the engagement;" the whole then assumed the government, while they were derided by the royalists, and called "the rump." Committees for business were appointed; and addresses promising support poured in; by degrees adhesions came from the military leaders in Scotland and Flanders, also from the fleet. Henry Cromwell, for a time, was inclined to declare in favour of the exiled monarch: but while he hesitated, the castle of Dublin was secured for the parliament, and he was obliged to submit and retire. The government of Ireland was placed with a commission, and Ludlow appointed commander.

The council at Wallingford House dictated to the restored parliament. One proceeding disposed of Richard; who retired from Whitehall on receiving an engagement that his debts should be paid, and ten thousand pounds per annum settled upon him and his heirs; but the promise was not carried into effect. This neglect was unjust; but it probably assisted to preserve Richard from becoming an object of suspicion at the Restoration. To effect the payment of his debts, amounting to about twenty-nine thousand pounds, he adopted such a humble mode of life, that he was not considered an object of jealousy by the king and his ministers.

Fleetwood struggled for the full command of the army, while the republicans limited his power; and,



though reluctantly, consented to receive their commissions from the parliament. All these proceedings strengthened the royalists, who watched with eager anxiety while their opponents were weakening each other. The king declared his intention of coming to England. August 1st was fixed for a general rising in almost every county ; but sir Richard Willis, who was the royalist leader in England, betrayed these designs, and the king was much surprised at a communication from Morland, one of the under-secretaries of state, who, to make his own peace, forwarded to the king at Brussels, some of the papers sent in by Willis.

The republican leaders took precautions, on which Willis persuaded his confederates to forbid the rising, but not more than two days before the appointed time. This threw all into confusion : some remained at home, while others who assembled in arms, were immediately captured or dispersed. Sir George Booth and others, in Cheshire, were, for a time, successful : their proceedings were grounded rather on the Presbyterian than the royalist cause, till they were alarmed, and dispersed by Lambert, on August 19th. The news reached the continent just in time to prevent the embarkation of the duke of York at Boulogne, and of Charles at Rochelle. Admiral Montague had brought back the fleet from the North Seas, intending to join the royal cause ; but heard of what passed just in time to excuse his return, by pleading a want of provisions.

The jealousies between the parliament and the council of officers continued. Soldiery were arrayed on each side ; but, instead of acts of blood, a strife of words followed. Haslerig threatened Lambert, which gave the latter a pretext for interfering. His soldiers prevented the speaker and other members from entering Palace Yard ; the house ceased to sit ; and the council of Wallingford House again resumed the rule. Fleetwood and Lambert were placed in autho-

city : but the change was very generally disapproved. The idea of military rule was not liked. The agents found little support in Ireland ; while Monk, in Scotland, at once caused them to be imprisoned.

Monk now became prominent. For the last seven years he had quietly exercised his command in Scotland, so as to gain strength, though he did not identify himself with any party. Richard Cromwell sought to obtain his support, without success. Charles II. made him considerable offers ; but he never committed himself respecting them, though his wife and his chaplain advised him to join the royal cause, and his views of self interest evidently directed him that way. He had prepared to support Booth ; but news of his defeat came in time to prevent Monk sending a letter to the parliament, which would have showed his inclinations. The new interference with parliament called Monk forward. He declared he would support the parliament, as an "asserter of the ancient laws and liberties : " at the same time he removed many officers most attached to the parliamentary cause ; but he soon felt that the difficulty of his position required action, and prepared accordingly.

Monk began to march southwards, and Lambert prepared to meet him, with a force of seven thousand men. The former gained strength by delay. Meanwhile the absence of Lambert encouraged the opponents of military power in London. One voice was even heard in parliament, suggesting the recall of Charles Stuart ; but it was silenced. A part of the soldiery openly sought direction from Lenthall. The army was now divided. The part inclined to support the parliament prevailed, under the influence of Monk's declaration, and a similar statement issued from a part of the fleet in the river Thames. Fleetwood expressed himself humbled ; and on his knees resigned his commission to Lenthall,

who again assumed power. "The rump" resumed its sittings on the 26th of December. Their first proceeding was to disperse Lambert's army, and order the leaders to be arrested. Thus the nation was providentially delivered from a worse scene than any exhibited in the recent civil war, for such would have been the contest to blood, of rival generals at the head of well-disciplined troops. Whitelock saw the inevitable tendency of all these proceedings, he urged Fleetwood to join the royal cause: but Vane interfered, and pledged him to maintain the commonwealth. A council of state was again formed, and an oath against the royal family enforced, while the remodelling of the army was daily proceeded with, in the course of which Fleetwood, Lambert, and others, were deprived of their commands.

On January 1st, 1660, Monk entered England, and Fairfax took possession of York by agreement with him. Lambert retired: his soldiers withdrew, while Monk proceeded southwards, prepared to take whatever measures appeared most beneficial to himself. At York, Fairfax pressed him to declare for the king; but he said it would not be a safe course; the former then disbanded his followers, while Monk continued his march. He was joined by the agents of different parties, and had no small difficulty to avoid committing himself, still professing the semblance of obedience to the parliament. On February 3rd, he quartered at Westminster, some regiments previously there having with difficulty been induced to withdraw by the desire of Monk, who was accompanied by five thousand men only. On the 6th, he attended the parliament, and received the thanks already voted. On this occasion, he used somewhat dictatorial language to the house; and declined to take the oath of abjuration, as all the other members of the council of state had not yet consented to it: but he expressed sincere devotion to the parliament, and cautioned against allowing either

royalists or fanatics any share in the public authority.

The citizens of London had for some time evinced a growing spirit of loyalty ; they showed decided symptoms of disobedience to the present parliament, by expressing their intention not to pay any taxes, unless imposed by a parliament freely and duly elected. The leaders thought this a good opportunity at once to punish the refractory, and to render Monk unpopular. He was ordered on the 9th to march into the city, seize eleven of the citizens, and remove the gates, chains, and other means prepared for barricading the streets. He obeyed, but in a manner that showed unwillingness. His soldiers also were disgusted. Other circumstances increased his suspicions of the design against him. The next day he prepared a letter, with the approval of his officers, complaining of their late employment against the city, and demanding that the vacancies in the house should be filled up, in preparation for a dissolution and the calling of a new parliament. He then marched again into the city ; met the common council ; declared that yesterday he had been their enemy by the command of others ; but now he was come as a friend by his own free choice, determined that there should be a full and free parliament. Universal joy followed. Bells were rung ; hundreds of bonfires were lighted at night ; and rumps, or pieces of meat cut into that form, were roasted in every street.

These events took place on Saturday. The next day was comparatively quiet, which gave opportunity for reflection. After repeated councils, upon the 21st the expelled members of 1648 resumed their seats, on which Haslerig and his adherents withdrew, which left a better opening for the royalists in the proceedings that followed. But Monk's conduct still puzzled the leaders of both parties. On this occasion, he made a speech which shows that he plainly

saw the difficulties then existing, the impossibility of things remaining in their present state, and anticipated many of the events that followed. Among other observations, he used these remarkable expressions :—"I desire that you may be in perfect freedom. Only give me leave to remind you, that the old foundations are, by God's providence, so broken, that, in the eye of reason, they cannot be restored but upon the ruins of the people of these nations ; and the liberty of the people's representatives in parliament, will be certainly lost. For if the people find, after so long and bloody a war against the king for breaking in upon their liberties, that he must yet, at last, be taken in again, he may for the future dispose of parliament and parliament-men as he pleaseth, for the people will never more rise to their assistance. Besides, it is most manifest, that if the state be monarchical, the church must follow, and prelacy must be brought in ; which these nations, I know, cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly sworn. I must further say, that neither can they bear the sitting of the lords in a distinct house."

Under the influence of the restored members, the party favourably inclined to the king, but with restrictions, prevailed. The presbyterian influence had the preponderance for a short time. A new counsel of state was selected, including several royalists. All votes since 1648 were annulled. Monk was appointed general. Booth and other cavaliers were liberated ; the presbyterian faith and discipline were declared to be the national religion, which involved an acknowledgment of kingly government ; and the laws against Papists were ordered to be enforced. Prynne, who, under all the varying circumstances of the times, had urged the rights of the people, as well as the due observance of the laws, did not hesitate to speak in support of the king. Sir Harbottle Grimstone also decidedly expressed an opinion that the king must be restored.

It was declared that the present parliament should be dissolved on March 15th, and a new one meet on April 25th. Monk still refused to allow the house of peers to assemble, or in any way to acknowledge the royal authority; but on March 10th, the house repealed "the engagement." All this was enough to raise fears in those who had been active in republican proceedings. Some of them vainly tried to tempt Monk by the offer of supreme power. It was evident, the day for that party was gone by.

When the parliament was dissolved, Monk ventured to express himself favourable to the royal cause. He received a letter from the king by sir John Grenville, but only ventured to send a verbal reply. He asked the king to forward a letter suitable to be laid before the parliament; and advised Charles to promise liberty of conscience, an almost general pardon, the payment of arrears to the army, and confirmation of sales.

The news of this decided change of affairs in his favour was received with much joy by Charles at Brussels. The easy suppression of the late attempt at a rising, had shown the king and his councillors, that unless other matters favoured their cause, it was altogether hopeless. They were also aware, that if the frivolous and evil points in his character and conduct were generally known, few would be inclined to support him. But his councillors at once showed the leaning of their party towards the same evils to which their predecessors in office had led his father. They contrived to limit the concessions apparently made in the royal declaration now required. Monk, however, professed himself satisfied. The king left Brussels after these documents were prepared. This was at the urgent advice of Monk, who had been apprized that the Spaniards purposed to detain Charles, as a guarantee to procure the restoration of Jamaica and Dunkirk, in case of his regaining the throne. He quitted that city just in time.

The elections in England went forward. The moderate presbyterians, who were inclined to restore the king, united with the royalists, and formed the majority of the new parliament. The republicans were seriously alarmed, so that Monk found increasing uneasiness in the army: but he had taken precautions, and got rid of many discontented spirits. Lambert escaped from the tower. He assembled a few troops in Warwickshire; but they were dispersed by Ingoldsby, who took him prisoner on April 21st.

The parliament met on April 25th. Sir Harbottle Grimstone, a presbyterian, was chosen speaker. The majority were decidedly favourable to the king. A considerable number of the peers assembled, including those shut out in 1648. By this time, Charles had secretly become a papist. The clergy around him had first disposed him that way, by the semipopery taught him by Cosens and others. That a weak and licentious prince should listen to the blasphemous assumptions and assurances of Romanism, when taught to give it a certain degree of respect and attention, is not wonderful. This is the natural course of things; and when once there is a departure from the simple doctrines of Scripture, all is a downward road to Rome; while the deluded votary, if a character like Charles, is secured by the liberty and indulgence to sin, which ever results from the doctrines of Popery. The state of the unhappy prince was carefully concealed from the great body of the English royalists; but it must be noticed as affording a clue to the errors and faults of his reign.

The communication from the king was now received in England by Monk, who continued his cautious proceedings, by which he had rescued the nation from the worst of despotisms, the domination of an army. Grenville was directed to apply to see him at the council chamber to present a letter. The royal arms upon it were noticed. He was admitted. On May 1st, the letters were presented to the two houses,

and received with thanks. There were others addressed to the army and navy, and to the city of London. All were favourably received.

The main points of the declaration from Breda, were, that the king granted a free pardon to all, excluding only those whom the parliament should except; and that no person should be disquieted or called in question, for differences of opinion in matters of religion.

In this state of affairs, Hyde, Ormond, and others, who were leaders among the royalists, and at the king's court, were anxious to hasten his return, lest there should be an attempt to make limitations. The votes carried, therefore only declared that by the law the government was, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons, and invited the king to come and receive the crown, which was his by hereditary right. All symbols of the commonwealth were ordered to be effaced. The name of the king was to be mentioned in public worship; his succession dated from his father's death; and money was voted to relieve his present necessities.

In this dilemma, judge Hale and Prynne endeavoured to induce the commons to attend to the national interest, by ordering an inquiry as to the concessions offered by Charles I., and urging the importance of coming to a right understanding on matters of dispute between the king and the parliament. Well would it have been for the nation during the next thirty years, and for the future fortunes of the house of Stuart, had this honest advice been listened to. But Monk craftily opposed all such proceedings, urging that they ought to have the king back while all were agreed, and asserting that he would be as much at their mercy as to limitations after his return as then. He knew the futility of such an argument; but he was pledged to the king in opposition to the national interest, and the royalists eagerly supported him.





THE ENTRANCE OF CHARLES II. INTO LONDON.

The king was now at the Hague, as eager to return as his partizans were for his arrival. The fleet was ready to receive him. He embarked May 23rd, and landed at Dover on the 25th, where Monk awaited his arrival. He then proceeded to London in a sort of triumph. The military were arrayed at Blackheath, the civic authorities in St. George's Fields. This was on May 29th, the birth-day of Charles. A splendid procession brought him to Whitehall, where he was addressed by the two houses in language of deep loyalty, which he returned by warm professions. When all had retired it was night; Charles closed the day by saying to his intimates, that it must have been his own fault that he had been absent so long, for all declared that they had wished for his return ! But licentious pleasure had hardened the heart of this weak prince. It is now known, that, instead of really expressing in private, the sincere thanks which were called for by the Divine mercies so signally vouchsafed by Providence in his behalf, the end of this memorable day saw him engaged in licentious and sinful revelry with degraded and wicked companions. Well is it recorded in the holy writ, "Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, and his days be prolonged, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before him : but it shall not be well with the wicked, neither shall he prolong his days, which are as a shadow ; because he feareth not before God," Eccl. viii. 12, 13.

## CHARLES II.

REIGNED TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AND EIGHT MONTHS.

*From the 29th of May, 1660, to the 6th of February, 1685.*

## PART I.

FROM A.D. 1660, TO A.D. 1671.

CHARLES II. was not restored to the throne of his ancestors by his own efforts or abilities. The greater part of the nation, or at least the more active portion, desired this change, or were led to support the proceedings of his partizans. Many were wearied of the changes resulting from the conflicts of party, or disgusted by the numerous promises that had not been realized by any of those who successively held the government. The character of Charles was sufficiently ascertained to cause apprehensions in the minds of some reflecting persons; but the greater part allowed themselves to be carried away by the tumultuary joy of the royalists. No conditions were made, nor was any plan brought forward, by which the nation might be profited from the painful experience of the last twenty years. One little circumstance may be mentioned, as showing the determination to return to ancient usages, however objectionable. As early as July 5th, the superstitious custom was resumed, of the king touching those afflicted with the disease called king's evil, in the belief that they would thereby be cured, while a chaplain read a service in which these words were blasphemously applied, "He put his hands upon them, and he healed them." This mummary had been continued from the days of Popery; but patients would long before have

failed, had not part of the ceremony been the presenting to each a small gold coin.

The king, it is true, saw that he must be careful in his measures, and probably designed to be so, but the pressure of business soon wearied him. He was a thoroughly unprincipled, indolent debauchee. The good abilities Charles II. naturally possessed were of no avail among the temptations, and under the advice, of his libertine companions. His exile had, however, firmly impressed upon his mind, the necessity for avoiding such a line of conduct, or, rather, such a degree of it, as would provoke the open resistance of the nation; as for the rest, he cared for nothing but his own selfish enjoyments—to preserve his place on the throne was necessarily requisite to this end. Such a character was utterly devoid of religious principle, and gave preference to the easy doctrines of Popery. His support of the church system established in England did not proceed from a conscientious regard to it, like that to which his father had become a martyr, but only from the belief that it was more likely to strengthen his power than any other which the nation would adopt. He would have preferred Popery had there been any possibility of inducing the nation to return to it. And many of the leading divines held doctrines widely differing, as those of Laud had done, from the faith taught by the British reformers and their immediate successors. The first care of such men was to forward measures that would strengthen their own power, and put down all the real followers of the truth, ranking them together with those who had united political proceedings with their religious profession.

There were two parties in the government. Hyde, better known as lord Clarendon, the chancellor, was closely associated with those who had been the principal advisers of the king before the restoration, also with Monk and a few of his personal associates. These formed the real administration, while others,

formerly counsellors of the late monarch, though nominally included, did not possess any real voice in the government.

In the enthusiasm of the moment, the parliament was ready to grant whatever the king required, and though the royal advisers saw it was necessary not to abuse this disposition to the utmost, yet all measures of precaution and restraint, upon right principles, were neglected. Bishop Burnet says, "To the king's coming in without conditions, may be well imputed all the errors of his reign."

The house of commons, then assembled, was declared to be a legal parliament, though not called by the royal writ. An annual revenue of 1,200,000*l.* was granted to the king, for which purpose the excise was continued. One half of this tax was granted in lieu of various feudal revenues; the second was required, with other taxation, to support the public expenditure. But the national advantage from doing away the feudal tenures was confined to the higher ranks. The lords of manors were released from their services and payments to the crown; but their own demands upon the inferior classes, the copyholders, were confirmed, although the advantage was purchased by the contributions of all ranks.

The army was gradually disbanded, and the arrears cleared by degrees. Baxter remarks, "that such an army, having done such deeds, and so powerful, should allow itself thus to be disbanded, is enough, of itself, to prove that there is a God that governeth the world, and disposes of the powers of it according to his will." About four thousand soldiers were retained as guards, the commencement of a standing army, till this time unknown in the kingdom.

There was much debate on the act of indemnity. At length, it was finally settled by excepting from pardon fifty-one, who had personally taken part in the condemnation of the late monarch. These were liable to be punished by death. Vane, Lambert, and

a few others, were subject to imprisonment and the forfeiture of their property. All who had sat in the high courts of justice, and about twenty more, were declared unable to hold office. The cavaliers loudly complained that this act left them without recompense for their losses and sufferings.

Of those who joined in the trial of Charles I. twenty-five had already followed their victim to the grave; nineteen had escaped to foreign countries; twenty-nine were in custody, the larger number of whom had surrendered themselves. These were brought to trial before a commission court, in October, 1660. There could be no doubt as to the part they had taken, and most of them gloried in what they had done. But the trials were hurried through with an evident pre-determination to condemn, and with unnecessary circumstances of severity. They were all found guilty. Ten were executed. Harrison, Cook, Hacker, and Peters, were the principal among them: they all gloried in the act for which they suffered, contending to the last, that it was a just and necessary proceeding. They suffered with courage and constancy the cruel mode of execution then in use. All the painful and disgusting circumstances of the quartering, while life remained, were exhibited. The people could not but remember that, during the commonwealth, these unnecessary cruelties had not been inflicted. The king was advised to discontinue these exhibitions, or, at least, not to have them so near the court as Charing Cross. The rest then condemned were kept in perpetual imprisonment.

Another disgusting and useless proceeding followed. The decaying remains of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, were taken from their coffins and hanged upon the gallows at Tyburn. Other bodies were removed from Westminster Abbey to the adjoining churchyard. There was some talk of paying magnificent honours to the remains of the late king; but, whatever might be the reason, this was not done. It

was stated that the exact place of his interment at Windsor could not be traced: his coffin remained undiscovered for a century and a half, when it was found in the vault where the body of Henry VIII. had been deposited. The expense of another funeral, with the danger of reviving animosities, probably induced the council to avail themselves of the careless temper of the king, and allow the matter to rest.

The convention parliament, as it was called, was dissolved December 29th, 1660; a new parliament was called, which assembled May 8th, 1661. The members, chosen under the excitement of the loyal feelings of the moment, and the influence of the court, were prepared to forward the measures of the court more than their predecessors, who had shown a desire to take some care of the liberties of the nation; little regard for these was evinced by the new parliament, which sat many years, and is distinguished as "the pensionary parliament:" by degrees the king ascertained the price of almost every member.

Considerable difficulties arose as to the restoration of property. Most of the royalists had parted with more or less of their estates to aid Charles I., or to defray the debts incurred in his service, and the fines imposed upon them. But this was by their own act. However compulsory or disadvantageous, the purchasers could not be disturbed. There was no remedy. The sellers were left to poverty, for the magnitude of this suffering class prevented compensation. The disappointed royalists said the parliament had passed an act of oblivion for the friends of the king, and of indemnity for his enemies. But the crown and church lands, having been disposed of under the authority of a government now declared illegal, were reclaimed and forcibly re-entered; though in the end, most of the holders of the royal estates were permitted to retain them on favourable terms. A different course was pursued with the church lands. They were disposed of anew and to the most advantage, the settle-

ment resting with the restored or new incumbents. Many of them had been severe sufferers during the commonwealth, but the benefits arising from the fines or leases, renewed with the advantage of the many lives which had dropped during the twenty years, allowed very large sums to some. Burnet states these fines at a million and a half, and properly observes it was unreasonable to let those then promoted carry off so great a treasure, which might have been applied to the increase of small livings, or in other measures for the general good; while with this sudden accession of wealth, there broke in upon the church a great deal of luxury and high living; many gave themselves up to ease and sloth.

In Scotland and Ireland, the royal authority was restored without conditions. Of late years, justice had been administered in them by English commissioners, as in conquered countries; this was discontinued, and the old forms of government were resumed. The earl of Middleton, assisted by other nobles, among whom were Glencairn, Lauderdale, and Rothes, was intrusted with the government of Scotland. A parliament or convention of estates assembled at Edinburgh in January, 1661, by which the Presbyterian kirk was suppressed, and several very arbitrary enactments passed, even the annulling all parliamentary proceedings since the year 1633—a most dangerous precedent, being destructive of all legal security. The marquis of Argyle was executed after a partial and unfair trial. Guthrie, a minister, and an officer named Gowan, also suffered. The Scottish nation appeared to be stupefied with these violent measures; but they led to decided reaction in a few years. Sharp, who deserted the Presbyterian kirk, the cause of which he had been employed to plead, was placed at the head of the Scottish Episcopal church. Fourteen prelates were appointed, among whom Leighton was the only pious character; from these, all ministers, not already



episcopally ordained, were required to receive orders, though some of the prelates themselves had not received such ordination. The state of matters that followed, especially in the west, is fully described by bishop Burnet. A large number of the Presbyterian ministers refused to comply, and were expelled from their cures. He says that the new incumbents were generally very mean and despicable, the worst preachers he ever heard, ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious, a disgrace to their order and the sacred functions. Those who rose above contempt or scandal, were men of such violent tempers that they were as much hated as the others were despised. The churches generally were forsaken ; many persons were brought before the council and the new ecclesiastical commission, for pretended riots and for using their ministers ill, but chiefly for not coming to church, and for holding conventicles. The proofs often were presumptions rather than clear evidence ; but great numbers were cast into prison, where they were kept long and ill used ; sometimes they were fined, and the younger sort whipped about the streets. These proceedings soon led to determined, open resistance.

The military, and others who held rule in Ireland, submitted at once to the restoration. In November, 1660, a royal declaration was sent forth, confirming the present settlement of property in that country, for the most part. While ordering the restoration of their estates to all who had not taken an active part in the late public proceedings, this was so clogged as to allow very few to claim that benefit. Only a few of the many claimants received compensation. Thus, the greater portion of the landed property passed over to the Protestants, or, rather, the latter were confirmed in their possessions. It is unnecessary here to enter into details of the various efforts of the dispossessed, in subsequent years, to obtain a settlement more favourable to themselves. The great evil

arising from this state of things, was, that it left Ireland in the position of a conquered country, without any attempt to amalgamate the settlers and the natives. It was unhappily the interest of many to keep up hostile feelings, both civil and religious; thus every political evil was increased instead of being lessened; the painful results are fully apparent at the present day.

Considerable difficulties arose as to the church preferments in England. The Episcopalian clergy had been driven out by the Presbyterians. But the latter found their influence diminished by the rise of the Independents, and for the most part promoted the restoration. The king was thereby placed in a dilemma. Either he must put out many who had lately rendered him essential services; or he must give up those who had suffered in the cause which was unitedly that of his father and their own. He also looked to the latter for most support in future, for their views in general were most congenial to his own. At first a middle way was pursued. The former establishment was restored as a matter of course, but offers of bishoprics were made to Reynolds, Baxter, and other Presbyterians; while those who held benefices—the prior holders of which were dead, or did not reclaim them—were considered as the incumbents. The Independents, however, were wholly excluded by the conditions imposed, and the final settlement of religion was to rest with the legislature. The subject was debated early in July, but the proceedings were purposely drawn out by referring the questions to the king, with a petition that he would assemble some divines to discuss the matter.

After various communications between the leading divines, the king issued a declaration in October, enjoining the bishops to act with the assistance of a part of their clergy, and that the reading of the liturgy, observance of ceremonies, and subscription

to the articles, should not be required from those who conscientiously objected thereto. Upon this, Reynolds accepted the bishopric of Norwich. A bill was brought into parliament to give a legal settlement of the question, but the lord chancellor caused it to be rejected.

On December 29th, the parliament was dissolved. A few days afterwards, some fanatics, headed by a man named Venner, rose in arms, proclaiming a fifth monarchy, under king Jesus. They were speedily suppressed, about twenty being killed. Several were taken prisoners and executed.

The coronation took place on April 23rd, 1661. It was attended and followed with rejoicings, which were also excited by the elections. The whole nation seemed intoxicated with their loyal feelings; many broke out into excess of riot, drunkenness was universal through the land; all who rebuked the general outbreak of profligacy, were insulted and abused as republicans.

In this state of national feeling, the members returned were, for the most part, thoroughly devoted to the court. Several measures were passed, all calculated to strengthen the monarchy. The cavaliers desired to have done away with the protection afforded to the existing state of property by the act of indemnity; but Clarendon did not venture upon such a proceeding, the sum of 60,000*l.* only was voted for these sufferers. Most of them, indeed, had sought what they considered to be their own interests, while supporting the cause of Charles I.

The king applied for increased money-grants. These were given; but he still remained oppressed with debts. There were faults both ways. Heavy arrears were not cleared off; and the funds granted fell short of the estimates. A considerable expenditure was requisite for the government, while difficulties were increased by the reckless improvidence of the king, and the profligate nature of his ex-

penses. It was evident that he was unduly burdened, and inadequately supplied ; but it was also plain that whatever funds he received would be squandered without either care or principle. The result was disastrous to the nation. In all his leading measures, Charles II. was influenced by this pressure, and cared not what sacrifice he made of the national interest or private welfare. A law, called the corporation act, was passed in December, which had the effect of displacing all officers opposed to the high monarchical proceedings and principles then adopted.

The liturgy was revised, after long, fruitless conferences and debates, between the leaders of the two chief ecclesiastical parties. On May 19th, the act of uniformity was passed, enforcing the use of the amended form in all churches, and requiring all persons holding benefices to subscribe, by St. Bartholomew's day, the 24th of August, 1662, their unfeigned assent and consent to every thing contained and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, including the offices lately drawn for the 29th of May and 30th of January.

Bishop Burnet says, "Now all the concerns that seemed to employ the bishops' thoughts, was to make the terms of conformity much stricter than before the war. Care was taken that nothing should be altered, as it had been moved by the Presbyterians ; for it was resolved to gratify them in nothing."

When this act was brought into the house of commons, many apprehended that so severe a proceeding would have bad effects. No maintenance was provided for those to be deprived—a severity neither practised by queen Elizabeth in enacting her measures, nor by Cromwell in depriving the royalist clergy, in which cases a fifth part of the benefice was reserved for their subsistence. The day was fixed so as to deprive the ministers of the income of the preceding year, the tithes being generally considered as due at Michaelmas. The Presbyterians

remembered the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day at Paris ninety years before, and compared the one with the other. The printing of the Book of Common Prayer went on so slowly that a great number were unable to see it, many who were well affected to the church, but who conscientiously objected to subscribe to a book they had not seen, left their benefices on that very account. It seemed to be expected that the clergy should subscribe to a book they had never seen, which, indeed, was done by too many. When the day drew near, some of the council hesitated at putting the act strictly into execution : but archbishop Sheldon pressed the execution of the law ; he seemed to apprehend that a very small number would fall under the deprivation. Baxter said that, if the terms of the king's declaration had been stood to, he did not believe that above three hundred would have been deprived. Such is the substance of the account given by one who himself afterwards became a bishop of the same church. Had Charles and his advisers been disposed to waive a few questions merely of outward ceremonial, the whole of the Presbyterians might have been retained in the church ; but never have either political or ecclesiastical rulers been disposed to adopt terms of comprehension, if they had it in their power to do otherwise.

It is estimated that above two thousand ministers were ejected by this proceeding ; among them were many of those most eminent for piety, learning, and abilities. A blow was thereby inflicted upon the established church, from which it suffered most severely. More outward conformity may have been attained by the fatal measure, but it was one great cause of that spiritual deadness which soon overspread the church, and from which it has never wholly recovered. To enlarge upon the painful subject here would be out of place ; there are few, even of those most opposed to the doctrinal views of the ejected ministers, who will not admit that

the precipitancy and haste with which the measure was urged, is deeply to be regretted, and wholly indefensible. It is probable that the Papists secretly stimulated both parties to extremities, hoping that so large a number might be excluded from the national church, that indulgence would be necessary, in which they might participate. The king soon sought to introduce such a measure, but the Nonconformists did not desire privileges to themselves, if only to be purchased by concessions which they considered must be destructive to the Protestant religion.

The lords did not willingly consent to these measures; but the high-church party was triumphant: an attempt to refer to the king's declaration from Breda, as engaging for more liberty of conscience, was fruitless. The Nonconformists and Romanists both were disappointed, and exposed to proceedings and penalties which they in vain pleaded were contrary to that declaration.

Three more of the regicides, with Vane, were executed early in 1662. The trial of the latter again showed the disregard of the judges to the forms of justice. At his execution, drummers and trumpeters were placed under the scaffold, to prevent his dying declarations from being heard. Lambert was kept in imprisonment till his death. Others would also have suffered, but the king and his ministers had now learned that these executions injured the royal cause; and though Charles had been present at some of the executions, and had personally urged the death of Vane, he was not of a sanguinary temper: although vice made him unfeeling, he did not delight in blood.

The king's brothers imitated his profligacy immediately on their return to England. Henry, the duke of Gloucester, the best character of the three, died in September, of the small-pox. The duke of York had previously been secretly affianced to the daughter

of Hyde, the lord chancellor. After much opposition from the queen-mother and the royal family, this marriage was avowed, and her rights admitted. A series of political manœuvres followed relative to a marriage for the king, in which the French court took an active part. It was soon seen that the king would not marry any Protestant princess; in May, 1662, he was married to the infanta of Portugal, with whom he had a dowry of 350,000*l.*, and the possession of Tangier and Bombay. She was amiable; Charles might have been comparatively happy with her, but for his vile intercourse with his mistresses, even forcing the queen to receive as an attendant the chief favourite of the day, against the remonstrances of Clarendon and his best advisers. For a time the life of the queen was endangered by illness, partly resulting from his conduct; but when her life was despaired of, and even when he had evinced real sorrow for the moment, on leaving her he resorted to his mistress as usual. The details of his wicked and unfeeling conduct in this matter, are fully given by contemporaries and indisputable authority. Other monarchs and other men have been equally licentious and wicked in disregarding their marriage vows; but no one in modern times ever acted in the public and shameless manner in which Charles forced his queen openly to admit his vile paramours to her company, and to treat them with attention, and even outward respect. If there were no other instances, this is enough to prove him a base and heartless wretch.

The money the king received with the princess of Portugal was soon squandered. His necessities then led to a disgraceful act—the sale of Dunkirk to the French monarch for five millions of livres. The people could not but contrast Cromwell's acquiring this important place with Charles's sale of it. This was but a small matter in the secret treaties between the two monarchs, by which the French king engaged

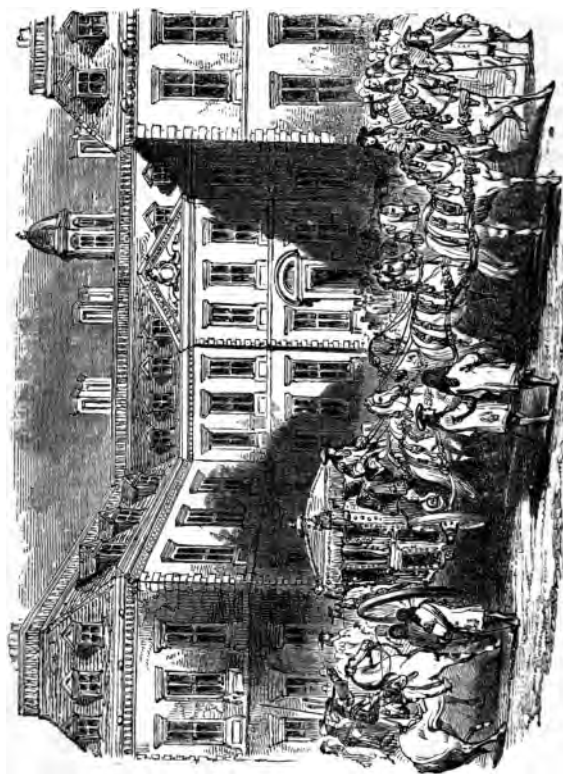
to aid Charles in his efforts to establish arbitrary power, and by which the king of England became a pensioner of France.

During 1663, the same course was pursued. Pepys, in his Diary, of May 16th this year, says, "The king desires nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thought of business. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice, and move him in any thing that is to his good and honour, the other part, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear or listen to the advice of those old dotards, or counsellors."

When the parliament met in February, the king recommended indulgence towards the Nonconformists. In this he desired to obtain relief to the Papists, his secret advisers, trusting that some measure might be adopted which would lessen their present disabilities, under the form of general exemption. The parliament objected, and in compliance with the national feeling, the popish priests were ordered to quit the kingdom.

An attempt was made to displace Hyde, the earl of Clarendon, who was now become very unpopular. He was unjustly considered the adviser of the sale of Dunkirk. Having begun a splendid residence without due consideration of the expense, it attracted much notice, and was called by the populace Dunkirk House: a view of this mansion from a contemporary print is given on the following page. Articles accusing Clarendon of high treason were exhibited in the house of lords in July, by the earl of Bristol; but the judges declared the matters alleged did not amount to treason, and that such a proceeding by one peer against another could not be entertained. Thus more than three years of the reign of Charles II. had passed; and, to the considerate mind, future prospects were most unsatisfactory.





CLARENDON HOUSE. TIME OF CHARLES II.

The reign of Charles II. was constantly disturbed with plots; there were rumours of designs against the king and his government, even from the commencement. The year 1664 began with a special commission being sent to the northern counties, to try those accused of planning an insurrection, and of being concerned in a tumultuary assembly in Yorkshire. Twenty-one persons were convicted and executed. Others were tried in London.

On March 16th, the parliament met, when the king made use of the late tumult, attributing it partly to a law passed in 1641, which some considered required a new parliament every three years. This act was doubtfully expressed; but the law was now repealed; another was enacted, that three years should not pass after a parliament had been dissolved, without calling a new assembly. The clauses of the former act, which directed the sheriffs to proceed to elections, even if the royal writs were not issued, were act repeated. Thus the whole power, as to the regular meeting of parliament, was again left at the pleasure of the crown, so that the king could repeat his father's most unpopular proceedings in this matter.

Severe measures were urged against the Dissenters. In May the Conventicle Act was passed, forbidding under heavy penalties, the meeting of more than five persons for religious worship, in addition to the members of a family. For the third offence, the punishment was a fine of 100*l.*, or transportation for seven years, increasing the penalty 100*l.* for each offence. This act was a direct violation of the royal promise of toleration: it was enforced with vexatious severity, and Clarendon urged still stricter proceedings. The prisons were soon crowded with victims, many of whom perished from disease, while those who sums had property were impoverished by fines, or the they had to pay as bribes to the favourites in power.

The latter part of the year was occupied by disputes with Holland, which ended in hostilities; the

duke of York capturing more than a hundred Dutch merchant vessels before war was declared. The pretext was injuries to the British seamen. The expenses attendant on this warfare embarrassed the king; but he secured a considerable sum—enough to provide for vigorous efforts at the commencement.

In March, 1665, the parliament granted two millions and a half, to be paid in three years. This grant is memorable, as for the first time the clergy were taxed with the laity. This was by the consent of convocation, which body, by thus surrendering its separate privileges as to taxation, from that time became of less importance to the state, and eventually was discontinued, except in the mere form. In return for this concession, the clergy were allowed to vote as freeholders, and paid a smaller amount than they had done when they taxed themselves. The ground for this change was, that the money was to be raised by a county rate, instead of the old plan of subsidies. It enabled the government to annul the power of convocation, when it was found to interfere with public proceedings and secular affairs.

A visitation of pestilence was now sent, which Burnet remarks, "disheartened all people, and coming at the very time when so unjust a war was begun, had a dreadful appearance." It was generally regarded as a mark of God's heavy displeasure on the nation, and indeed the evil life the king led, and the viciousness of the whole court, gave but a melancholy prospect to the country.

During the preceding winter, rumours of the plague being in London had been frequent, but were silenced; a few cases which occurred were carefully kept from public notice, but as the spring of 1665 came on, these cases increased, and could no longer be concealed. On April 26th, an order of council was issued, directing precautionary measures to be taken, but the disease spread rapidly. Vast numbers of *the wealthy* hastened to quit London, and a general

1665.]

THE PLAGUE IN LONDON.

287



stagnation of trade followed; this much increased the evil, by many thousands of servants being discharged, and workmen thrown out of employment. Large collections were made for their relief, and active measures of precaution were resorted to by those of the authorities that remained. The progress of the deaths appears from the bills of mortality, showing the number of burials reported in the week preceding; but when the disease was at its height, the dead were carried by cart-loads, and thrown into deep pits, dug in churchyards and other places, so that no accurate account could be kept. The burials, which usually averaged 270 for the week, largely increased, and advanced rapidly, from 1,006 at the beginning of July, to 8,297 on September 19th, the largest number reported in any one week. The next statements were 6,460 and 5,720; but the accounts diminished to 544, before the end of November.

The king and court removed to Salisbury at the end of July; from whence they proceeded to Oxford, September 28th, where the parliament assembled the following month; little business was transacted, but the Five-mile Act was passed. This law was made to distress the nonconforming ministers, who were thereby forbidden to come within five miles of any town that sent members to parliament, or in which they had formerly resided. This cruel law was designed to hinder them from obtaining maintenance by schools or other occupations, which many of them followed in places where they were well known and respected, but they could not hope to succeed where they were strangers. During the time of the plague, when most of the regular parochial ministers had forsaken their cures, these excellent men faced the danger, and preached in their old pulpits, crowds resorting to hear them. Their recompense was new and severer persecution!

So extreme were the courses attempted against the liberty of the subject, both civil and religious,

that a bill to impose the oath of non-resistance on the whole nation, was lost by only three votes. The duty of passive obedience to all the profligate and heartless proceedings of the king and his ministers, was openly taught from most of the pulpits of the kingdom, and enforced by all in authority as far as possible.

In December, the greater part of the city was declared to be free from the plague; the people rapidly returned to their houses and business. Many accounts have been printed of the affecting incidents connected with this awful visitation, but they cannot be given in a brief sketch like the present.\*

The first symptoms were shivering, sickness, and headache. Delirium often followed. The disease soon reached its crisis, often with very little notice: if spots appeared, death usually followed in a few hours; but if there were swellings which could be brought to a head, and to discharge, recovery might be hoped for. The disease sometimes attacked the sufferer again, but for the most part those who recovered were freed from farther danger. Much has been written in reference to this disease; different opinions exist as to whether it was spread by contagion from one person to another, or whether it arose from certain states of the atmosphere in certain localities. It is probable that both causes contributed to the disease. The city of London at that time was closely built and thickly inhabited. The houses were ill ventilated, the streets close and narrow, filth was allowed to accumulate, no general system of cleanliness existed. Under these circumstances, infectious disease of some description generally existed in one part or another, and at a few years' interval broke out and made fatal ravages, when rendered more active

\* They are well narrated in an account of this plague written by Defoe, the author of "Robinson Crusoe." The narrative is fictitious, as to the person supposed to give the account, but it is considered that the details are authentic. The Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys give interesting additional particulars.

by the state of the atmosphere, or other causes. Some of these plagues have been already noticed, but none were equal to that of the year 1665, emphatically called "the great plague." The whole number reported to have died of the plague in 1665 was 68,596; those stated to have died of other diseases carried up the total of burials to 97,306; but it is calculated that the number of deaths really amounted to 130,000, while the common annual mortality of this period did not exceed 14,000. The following short description of London under this visitation may be given from the "Life of Baxter." "The plague hath seized on the most famous and most excellent city of Christendom: and, at this time, eight thousand and near three hundred die of all diseases in a week. It hath scattered and consumed the inhabitants, multitudes being dead and fled. The calamities and cries of the diseased and impoverished are not to be conceived by those that are absent from them. Every man is a terror to his neighbour and himself; for God, for our sins, is a terror to us all. Oh! how is London, the place which God hath honoured with his gospel above all the places of the earth, laid low in horrors, and wasted almost to desolation, by the wrath of God, whom England hath contemned; and a God-hating generation are consumed in their sins, and the righteous are also taken away, as from greater evil yet to come. The richer sort removing out of the city, the greatest blow fell on the poor. At the first, so few of the most religious sort were taken away, that, according to the mode of too many such, they began to be puffed up, and boast of the great difference which God did make; but quickly after, they all fell alike. Yet not many pious ministers were taken away. It is scarce possible for people that live in a time of health and security, to apprehend the dreadfulfulness of that pestilence. How fearful people were thirty or forty, if not a hundred miles from London, of *anything that they bought from any mercer's or drapers'*

shop, or of any goods that were brought to them, or of any person that came to their houses! How they would shut their doors against their friends! and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid another as we did in the time of wars! and how every man was a terror to another! Oh, how sinfully unthankful are we for our quiet societies, habitations, and health!"

All business and legal proceedings were at a stand for many months. The Exchequer was removed to Nonsuch in August, and remained there till the January following; but judicial proceedings were not resumed at Westminster till February; on the first of that month the king and duke of York returned to Whitehall.

During the year 1665, the war with the Dutch was carried on with activity. On June 3rd, the English fleet, under the duke of York, defeated their opponents in a battle fought off Lowestoft, when the Dutch admiral Opdam perished in his vessel, which was blown up; seventeen other ships were taken or destroyed: this was followed by an unsuccessful attempt to capture two rich fleets of Dutch merchantmen, which had taken refuge in Bergen, a neutral port of Norway.

The next year began with the French declaring war against England, and the Danes joined Holland. Another general action was fought in June, 1666, when the English, commanded by Rupert and Monk, were defeated; but in a subsequent hard fought action, on July 25th and 26th, the English were victors. They had the undisputed command of the sea for a time, so as to burn a number of ships, and a town on the coast of Holland. This year also had its plot, for which Rathbone, and others of the parliamentary army, were executed. The proceedings of the government, and its disregard of the conciliatory measures promised at first, excited constant discontent.

An event, regarded at the time as most disastrous, especially marks the year 1666. Early on the morning





THE FIRE FROM THE BRIDGE.

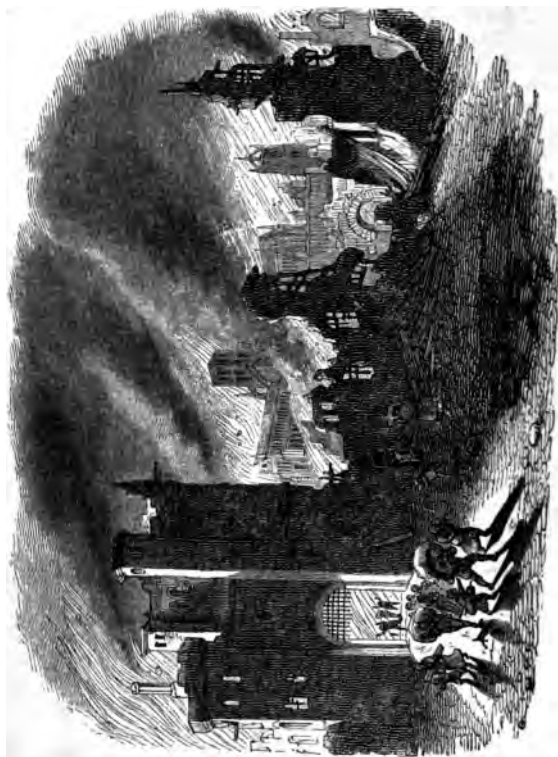
of Sunday, September 2nd, a fire broke out at a baker's in Pudding Lane, London, a neighbourhood where the houses were densely crowded together, and most of them of wood; while many warehouses were filled with naval stores, and other articles highly combustible. The supply of water was deficient, the wind was very high, the lord mayor and the civic authorities were quite unequal to the emergency; the fire raged fiercely, and the flames spread rapidly, often breaking out in houses at some distance, till a vast extent was involved in the conflagration. Evelyn describes its appearance on Sunday night from the Bank-side: "We beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the water side; all the houses from the bridge, all Thames Street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were now consumed; and so returned [to Deptford], exceeding astonished what would become of the rest. The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about,) after a dreadful manner, when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season; I went on foot to the same place, and saw the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames; and all along Cornhill, (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward,) Tower Street, Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and so along to Bainard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seen but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods: such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, exchange, hospitals, monuments and

ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house, and street to street, at great distances one from the other; for the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to receive the fire, which devoured, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and everything. Here we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, as on the other, the carts, etc., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewed with movables of all sorts, and huts erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh, the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as haply the world hath not seen the like since the foundation of it, nor to be outdone till the universal conflagration of it. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above forty miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above ten thousand houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm, and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal, and reached upon computation near fifty miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoon burning; a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. London was, but is no more! So I returned."

All was confusion: the people thronged every avenue, hastily removing their goods to the fields; while every effort to stop the progress of the fire seemed to fail. The king and the duke of York hastened to *the scene*; the princes exerted themselves with ac-

tivity, encouraging those who laboured to stay the ravages. Many houses were demolished or blown up with gunpowder, or beaten down with cannon. On Wednesday afternoon the wind abated; the next day the fire was stayed, partly by exertion, still more from having spent itself on the greater part of the buildings of the city. For many weeks the fire was not wholly extinguished in some parts of the ruins, which extended from the Tower on the east, to the Temple on the west, and from the river side to Smithfield and the city wall on the north. Considerably more than half of the city of London was burned. The ruins covered above four hundred and thirty acres, including St. Paul's Cathedral, eighty-eight parish churches, most of the public edifices, and more than thirteen thousand private houses. The property destroyed was estimated at 7,000,000*l.* sterling; but only about six persons were known to have perished.

In justice to the king it must be stated, that his exertions on this occasion were most praiseworthy. For a time he seemed roused from idle pleasures; he directed measures for the relief of the sufferers, who for some weeks, in large numbers, occupied tents in the fields round the metropolis, till by degrees they found better shelter. He for a time attended to the plans of Evelyn, and others, for the rebuilding of the metropolis with many great improvements. But his attention soon relaxed, while the eagerness of men in general to return to their accustomed business and pursuits, with their tenacity for the old sites, prevented beneficial arrangements being carried into effect. Many small improvements, however, were made, and some attention was given to reconstructing the houses with better materials—brick and stone, instead of timber and plaster. These improvements, with others which followed, tended much to promote the future health of the metropolis, so that good resulted from this severe visitation. The expense of



THE FIRE OF LONDON—LUDGATE AND OLD ST. PAUL'S IN THE DISTANCE.

the improvements was provided for by a tax of a shilling upon every chaldron of sea-coal brought into London. The large sums expended in building, and replacing the articles consumed, gave a beneficial stimulus to trade, when the immediate pressure of the calamity had passed. An office for insurance of buildings from fire was opened, and patronized by government. This also was a public benefit.

The cause of the conflagration was inquired into by the parliament and the privy council, but they could not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. The wind, the dry weather which had for some time prevailed, the bad arrangements to stop the flames, and the very combustible nature of the buildings and stores where it began, were sufficient to account for its ravages. But some extraordinary relations, not altogether unsupported, implied that it was caused by incendiaries; one man was executed on his own confession, although he was supposed to be mad, for having been concerned in the first kindling of the fire. So far as these relations could be traced, they threw imputations upon the Papists; but the public mind was in such an excited state, that no reliance can be placed on these conflicting statements; the real cause of this calamity never has been clearly ascertained. It is to be remembered, to the credit of the populace, that although, excited by reports, they seized many foreigners and Papists during the fire, these were committed to the civil power—none suffered from popular fury.

This year a measure was carried, very oppressive to Ireland, and injurious to England. Two years before, Ireland was prohibited from sending live cattle to England; now the sending dead or salted carcasses was made unlawful. This iniquitous measure was strongly resisted; but tumults being raised in its favour in the agricultural districts, the king thought it necessary to add his influence, so that the bill passed. It is one of the many instances in

history, of a popular outcry in support of restrictions contrary to the welfare of the people. The latter measure was a very ungrateful return to the offers of the Irish gentry to send over thirty thousand head of cattle for supplying the poor of London, left destitute by the fire. Their generous proposal was refused by the party then ruling the state; and the kind proposers were taunted with the allegation, that they only desired to do away the prohibition against the reception of live cattle.

Scotland had been in a very unsettled state ever since the king's restoration. The violent, unconstitutional proceedings of Middleton and his supporters were rendered more hateful by the setting up of a high commission court, and religious persecution against all who objected to the settlement of the prelacy in that kingdom; this involved most of the really religious and conscientious inhabitants of the land.

The rulers endeavoured to stop all resistance by severe measures of fine and imprisonment, and by sending soldiers to enforce their proceedings, who indulged in licentious and oppressive conduct. A tumult, arising from these proceedings, broke out in November, 1666. Oppression maketh even the wise man mad, Eccl. vii. 7. It led to a short insurrectionary movement; the insurgents being called whiggamores, or whigs—a term of contempt, applied to drovers. They were about to give up their enterprise, when the military overtook and dispersed them while assembled on the Pentland Hills. About fifty of the peasantry were killed, and one hundred and thirty made prisoners. Instead of endeavouring to allay the angry feelings by adopting lenient measures, Sharp and other prelates, urged increased severity; more than forty were executed, mostly before their own doors, and many were tortured. The constancy with which they suffered, and the total failure to fix upon the leaders any premeditated design,

obliged the rulers to abate these persecutions for a time, but not till a deep and lasting impression had been made by the execution of many really pious individuals, who had been persecuted into resistance. The dying words of Maccail, a young Presbyterian minister, who was hanged on a gibbet after being cruelly tortured, are well known: "Farewell father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all delights; farewell meat and drink; farewell sun, moon, and stars: welcome God and Father; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of grace and God of all consolation; welcome glory; welcome eternal life; and welcome death." Woodrow says, "Scarce was there a dry eye in the whole street."

Bishop Burnet describes the severe proceedings of general Dalziel, who commanded in the west of Scotland, "When he heard of any that did not go to church, he did not trouble himself to set a fine upon him, but sent as many soldiers as should eat him up in a night. By this means all people were struck with such a terror that they came regularly to church. And the clergy were so delighted with it, that they used to speak of that time as the poets do of the golden age. They never interceded for any compassion to their people, nor did they take care to live more regularly, or to labour more carefully." There were a few exceptions; Burnet himself, archbishop Leighton, and some others, who did not "look on the soldiery as their patrons." But a still darker hour in the episcopal church of Scotland was near.

The expenses of the war with Holland, and the profusion of the king, so embarrassed the finances, that the navy debt amounted to nearly a million: neither seamen nor supplies could be procured. Not long before, Pepys, the secretary of the admiralty, notes of one day, in 1666 — "Did business, though not much, at the navy office, because of the horrible crowd, and lamentable moan of the poor seamen



in the streets, that lie starving for want of money." A resolution to diminish the naval establishment was taken, notwithstanding the strong remonstrances of the duke of York, who directed the admiralty, attending strictly to the duties he undertook. The English government also trusted to the negotiations for a treaty of peace which were begun, while Louis and Charles entered into a secret alliance. The result of this security was, that in June, 1667, the Dutch being again masters of the sea, their fleet blockaded the mouth of the Thames, a part of it sailed up the river Medway to Chatham, destroying several of the largest ships there and at Sheerness, with a considerable quantity of stores in the dock-yards. Fears that the invaders would proceed towards London prevailed; but after this destruction the Dutch admiral withdrew. By the end of the month, peace was concluded at Breda; but the government was severely reflected upon for the recent disgrace and losses; the more so, as large supplies had been granted for the war, much of which had been misappropriated by the king to his licentious pleasures. By this treaty matters were left nearly in their existing state, confirming to Holland some possessions in the East, and to England the districts of Albany and New York in America.

The disgrace of lord Clarendon followed soon after. He had become exceedingly unpopular with the nation, for his avarice, and the high and arbitrary principles of government he supported both in the church and state; while the king and his minions were displeased by his free and faithful remonstrances against the profligacy of the monarch and his favourites. Lady Castlemaine, the principal royal paramour, was especially active against the minister. In one way or another, all parties became his enemies. The king deprived Clarendon of the great seal in August, 1667, which was the signal for his opponents to renew their efforts. Though they failed in at-

tempting to impeach him of treason, owing to the support of the duke of York and the prelates, he was privately ordered by the king to withdraw to France, which he did on November 30. An act for his banishment was passed; though he repeatedly endeavoured to induce the king to recall him, these efforts were fruitless, and he died in exile in 1674. His history and memoirs give much information relative to that period, but cannot be depended upon for the truth and accuracy of all that he relates.

The administration formed at the Restoration was wholly at an end: Southampton was dead, Clarendon in exile, Monk infirm and incapable, Nicholas had resigned, Ormond was altogether in Ireland.

The versatile, profligate duke of Buckingham now had much to do in the government, with Arlington and sir William Coventry. Burnet says—"He had no principles of religion, virtue, or friendship. Pleasure, frolic, or extravagant diversion was all he laid to heart. He was true to nothing; for he was not true to himself. He had no steadiness nor conduct; he could keep no secret, nor execute any design without spoiling it. He at length ruined body and mind, fortune and reputation, equally. The madness of vice appeared in his person in several instances. The main blame of the king's ill principles and bad morals was with the duke of Buckingham." Unhappy was the state of the land when such profligates were its rulers. The duke made himself still more notorious in January, 1668, by a duel, in which his opponent, the earl of Shrewsbury, was mortally wounded. The duke had seduced the countess, who lived openly in adultery with him: it is said, that in the garb of a man, she held her paramour's horse, while he slew her husband. Yet Buckingham continued in power, though abhorred by all characters of respectability. His want of influence, and the suspicion that some favour was intended to the Papists, caused the parliament to reject the king's

desire to grant indulgence to the nonconformists. The Conventicle Act, however, was allowed to expire.

Buckingham availed himself of the king's indolence and love of sinful pleasure. He got rid of Coventry, with some others upon whom he could not fully depend; but in vain attempted to displace the duke of York. He then found that the continuance of his power depended upon his supplying the money required by the king. The public debts were heavy, while the yearly receipts did not exceed a million. Three-fourths of this were required for the public service, and ordinary expenses of the state; the sum of 100,000*l.* was needed for interest of monies owing; the rest was not sufficient to defray incidental matters, and the king's private expenditure. Meanwhile the allowances and pay were in arrear, and the tallies, or securities given instead of money to those engaged in the public service, were sold at an enormous sacrifice. Charles willingly entered into closer engagements with the king of France. An attempt was made to have the public accounts closely examined, but it ended in no satisfactory result. London now had nearly risen from its ruins, but St. Paul's and other public edifices yet bore testimony to the ravages of the fire.

One proceeding of the administration was of a better character. The grasping ambition of Louis XIV. of France, was already apparent; as some check upon him, especially in his schemes relative to Spain, a triple alliance was formed between England, Holland, and Sweden. Louis gave way for a time, knowing that he had Charles at his pleasure. The alliance was not long effectual: in the same month, the English king, in a proclamation, declared that he had always adhered to the established religion, against all temptations to the contrary, and would continue to do so. Yet his secret treaty with the king of France, made in 1670, declared that he "was convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion." The duke of York deter-

mined openly to profess Popery. Charles privately was of the same mind; but he saw that it was important for him still to profess the Protestant faith outwardly.

There is no doubt that Charles was a thorough libertine, regardless of all religion, but most inclined to Popery, as promising peace at the last, and most indulgent now to his vices. He dissembled in a manner very different from the openess, however mistaken, of the duke, who, in vain, urged him to more honest conduct. Louis, on the other hand, cautioned Charles to beware, and he continued his dissimulation to the end of his life, while the duke, on March 31st, 1671, made a public profession of having abjured the Protestant faith.

Henrietta, the queen-mother, died in August, 1669; Monk, in January, 1670; Prynne died soon afterwards. This period was also marked by disputes between the two houses, arising from a judgment of the peers in the case of an East India trader. The king, with difficulty, settled the dispute. It was the last attempt of the house of lords to claim a right to decide on legal proceedings originating before them.

New discussions arose as to religious toleration. The Papists wished to promote it, hoping they might obtain some relief, but other feelings prevailed. An act for suppressing conventicles passed in April, 1670, enacting ruinous fines and imprisonment.

Persecutions followed. The Quakers openly continued their passive resistance; when the doors of their principal meeting-house in London were closed against them, they assembled in the street. Their leaders were tried for a riot, but acquitted; they were imprisoned, notwithstanding, as well as the jurors. The king evidently thought that such measures being found too severe, would lead to obtaining relief for the Papists also.

One intrigue of Buckingham was to set up a natural son of the king, born during his exile, and created

duke of Monmouth. He intimated to the king a plan for acknowledging him as lawful heir to the throne, to the exclusion of the duke of York, but Charles wholly refused to aid such a fraud. Buckingham then took measures to divorce the queen. These the monarch at first countenanced, but soon refused to allow them to proceed, though he had given a sort of countenance to some part of the measures proposed, by being present at debates in the house of lords. This was partly from his finding it an amusing lounge. It gave opportunity to some of the peers to speak with boldness in the king's presence. A speech of lord Lucas on the expenditure of government, was ordered to be publicly burned by the hangman.

In May, 1670, a treaty was concluded by the English monarch with Louis, by means of Henrietta the sister of Charles, married to the duke of Orleans. This was long kept secret, but its articles are now fully known. Charles was to profess himself a Papist when he thought proper to do so, and to join in a war against Holland, during which an annual sum of three millions of livres was to be paid by the king of France. To settle this treaty the duchess met her brother at Dover. She was not happy with her husband, and entreated permission to separate from him and reside in England, but the king, though showing her much affection, refused to consent. She returned to France, and in less than a month died suddenly, as it was supposed, of poison.

In order to carry forward these designs, the administration was strengthened: it now comprised five nobles, Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, (afterwards earl of Shaftesbury,) and Lauderdale; only the first two were admitted to the full secret of the French treaty. This administration is known by the appellation, "Cabal," from the initials of their names. They were all thoroughly unprincipled characters; and their proceedings were such as might be expected. *Nor was the profligacy of the court diminished.*

The king's wretched favourites were increased by two players, and an attendant of his late sister, afterwards made duchess of Portsmouth. Sir John Coventry having sarcastically alluded to the former in the house of commons, was waylaid by the king's private order, and his nose was cut open by some of the guard. A violent attempt had been made on the life of the duke of Ormond, a few days before, by Blood, a desperate character, soon afterwards still more notorious. Ormond's son, lord Ossory, openly told Buckingham, that he knew that he was at the bottom of the design on his father's life, and that if he fell a victim, he would pistol him even behind the royal chair. He told the unprincipled nobleman this in the king's presence. At that period, the lawless conduct of persons of the highest rank had a most injurious effect upon the public morals. Early in 1671, the duke of Monmouth, in company with the young duke of Albemarle and others, in a drunken frolic, killed a ward beadle, who in vain begged for his life upon his knees. The king, to save his son, pardoned all the murderers, forgetful of the solemn words of Scripture, that "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed," Gen. ix. 6.

Several events, important both at the time and subsequently, distinguished the early part of 1671. In March, a law was passed to punish for malicious cutting and maiming. The recent outrages, particularly that on sir John Coventry, obliged the court to consent to this measure. At the end of the same month, the duchess of York died, the daughter of lord Clarendon, and mother of the princesses Mary and Anne, afterwards queens of England. Two events marked the progress of Popery and its influence; the open profession of that anti-christian faith by the duke of York, and a studied insult offered to the Dutch fleet, to provoke hostilities and bring on the war with Holland, in which Charles had consented to engage, to strengthen the cause of Popery.

In April, the lords made an alteration in a tax proposed on sugar. This led to the resolution of the commons, that prevents the peers from originating or altering any bill having reference to taxation. Another law settled a rate of maintenance for the clergy of London, rendered necessary by the fire of London, but it was an unequal arrangement. The result in the next century was, that the pay of the greater part of the clergy of the city was too little for their maintenance; while, in some few parishes, and in those without the walls, the income far exceeds what is requisite.

On May 9, Blood, with some of his associates, made a desperate attempt to steal the crown from the regalia in the tower. A plot was arranged; under a disguise he formed acquaintance with Edwards, the keeper of the jewels, who was deceived into a belief that Blood was a clergyman wishing to marry a nephew to his daughter. One day, the visitors desired to see the regalia, when they seized the crown. On the resistance of Edwards, he was severely wounded. His son returning home from a distance, unexpectedly entered, an alarm was given, the thieves were taken, and the crown secured. Blood was an atrocious villain, but he obtained an interview with the king, and was pardoned. He had a pension of 500*l.* granted, and was afterwards seen attending at court, while Edwards, the faithful keeper, obtained only a scanty reward, not enough to defray the expenses of the cure of his wounds, and died in poverty. The honest Evelyn fairly states, that how this villain came to be pardoned and received into favour, he never could understand. Such a proceeding, however, was in keeping with the rest of the proceedings of the king, and the advisers whom he selected during the greater part of his reign. From this time to its close a continual conflict was exhibited between the crown and the people, originating in the piroffgacy of the monarch.

## CHARLES II.

## PART II.

FROM A.D. 1672, TO A.D. 1684.

THE year 1672 began with a disgraceful fraud, committed by the king, on the advice of his ministers, originating with Clifford, or Shaftesbury. Like needy characters in lower life, Charles had for some time anticipated his revenues. Money was lent to him by goldsmiths and merchants in London, for which he paid an interest of eight per cent., till they were repaid by the amounts received at the exchequer for customs and taxes. The sums required being large, they borrowed and received money from private persons, paying them a smaller rate of interest, and returning at any time the money so borrowed with the repayments made from the exchequer, to which again they continually lent other sums, thus renewing their loans. The Cabal advised the king to shut the exchequer, by refusing to repay the money lent, then about 1,300,000*l.*, and himself to use the sums coming in from the revenue. This was done. A promise of repayment at the end of the year was given. The interest then due was not paid, but added to the capital, and six per cent. interest was promised on the whole amount. By this measure many were ruined : first, the capitalists who borrowed the money to lend the king ; and then the parties who advanced it, many of whom were widows, and guardians of orphans. To shelter the bankers from their creditors, Shaftesbury was made lord chancellor, in which office he so conducted himself as to incur public contempt.



To the disgrace of the parliament that assembled in the following year, this act of fraud by the government was not censured.

Another attempt to procure money by a direct act of piracy, failed. A squadron was sent out to capture a large Dutch fleet of merchantmen without a previous declaration of war; but the States, alarmed at the preparations of Louis, and suspecting Charles to be his confederate, had provided a convoy of armed vessels: only four ships were taken, while the full disgrace justly due for the design, was incurred by the king and his Cabal.

It will be seen, that during the remainder of this reign the interests of Europe were entirely abandoned by the king and his ministers, as well as the liberties of England. Even the advocates of Charles are obliged to allow that a formal plan was laid, for changing the religion and subverting the constitution of England. Being temporarily supplied with funds, the king pursued the design arranged between Louis and himself against Holland. Troops were sent to join the French in Flanders. A naval battle was fought off Southwold, on May 28th, in which the English, under the duke of York, suffered severely, though they were reputed victors. The French prevailed on land; by July a large part of Holland was in their possession, Louis keeping his court at Utrecht. But the Dutch were firm in their resistance: they cut the dykes so as to lay a large tract of their country under water, and made the prince of Orange their leader, to whom they shortly after gave the title of Stadtholder. De Witt, who had long conducted the government, was murdered in a popular tumult. English ambassadors were sent, who endeavoured to persuade the States to surrender a part of their territory; but the prince of Orange encouraged them to be firm, saying he would rather die in the last ditch than see the country lost. This perseverance overcame the iniquitous alliance of Louis and Charles.

Another measure intended to promote the Popish interests in England, had a more specious appearance. In March, 1672, the king issued an indulgence for suspending the penal laws against those who differed from the established church. The measure was just and right, although the king asserted that he had a supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, and his design was only to use it as a covert for promoting Popery. This was seen by the parliament; and when it met in the following year, some argued that if the king could dispense with penal laws, then he could do so with all laws; a resolution was passed, that penal laws in ecclesiastical matters could only be suspended by act of parliament. The king required pecuniary supplies, which the house of commons refused to grant till he revoked his indulgence. His compliance much displeased the ministers; Shaftesbury, finding that the king would not support some arbitrary measures, and being made acquainted with other things of which he had been kept ignorant, began to join the party in opposition, designated the country party, or the whigs, and was displaced in June following. Charles steadily adhered only to one principle of conduct; namely, not to provoke his subjects too far. He openly told the duke of York, that he did not mean to travel again. By this compliance, with some bribes to leading members of the opposition, he obtained a grant of 1,200,000*l*.

On March 29th, 1673, the Test Act was passed, by which no one could hold an office, either civil or military, unless he received the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the rites of the established church. The leading Puritans submitted to the disadvantages they incurred, that Popery might be the more decidedly resisted. But this sad profanation of an act of religious worship, justly subjected the nation to the charge made by the poet Cowper:—

"Hast thou, by statute, shov'd from its design  
The Saviour's feast, his own blest bread and wine,  
And made the symbols of atoning grace  
An office key, a picklock to a place,  
That infidels may prove their title good,  
By an oath dipped in sacramental blood?"

Such a law could only promote hypocrisy and profaneness; it was repealed in 1828, but for many years had been a dead letter, an act being passed every year, to exempt those who had disregarded this law from the pains and penalties they had incurred.

All persons holding office were also required to sign a declaration against transubstantiation. A bill to give some relief to Protestant Dissenters was brought in, but suffered to drop. The duke of York, and Clifford, resigned their offices: the former soon after married Marie d'Este, a Popish princess, sister to the duke of Modena.

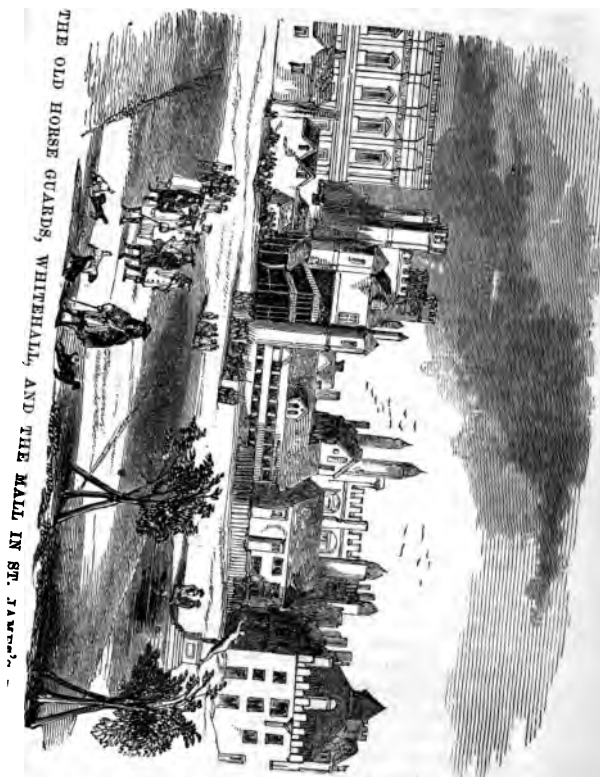
The jealousy of the king's proceedings was now generally expressed; though many of the parliament were his pensioners, the house of commons presented an address against the duke's marriage, urged measures against Popery, and began to discuss grievances. The king suddenly put a stop to the session in November, 1673. They met in the January following, but were not well inclined to the king; resolutions were passed against a standing army, and three of the late ministers were censured. Peace with Holland was proclaimed February 28, 1674. The terms were favourable to England, but no advantages were gained adequate to the sacrifices the war had required. The king then offered to mediate between the States and France, though he secretly received large sums from Louis.

The years 1674 and 1675 were marked by differences between the houses of parliament, and between the commons and the king. In November, 1675, the king prorogued the parliament to February, 1677, which was equivalent to a dissolution. When it re-assembled, the leaders of the Cabal urged this in

1676.]

THE KING'S PROCEEDINGS.

311



opposition to the king, but were sent to the Tower. Shaftesbury was detained more than a year; the others were soon released. During the interval the king pursued his usual course of luxury, giving himself up to trifling and vicious amusements, but secretly concluding another treaty with Louis, by which he became the regular pensioner of France. The sums thus obtained partly supplied his private purposes, but the public expenditure was unpaid, and the salaries of the officers of state were largely in arrear.

One matter of importance marked 1677: the marriage of the princess Mary, the eldest daughter of the duke of York, to the prince of Orange; the results were most beneficial to England. This was a highly popular measure, the prince being a decided Protestant, and next heir to the throne after the duke of York's family. The duke himself unwillingly consented to the union, when the king required him to do so, being desirous to forward a popular measure. It was an arrangement whereby the inclination of Charles to go all lengths with Louis against Holland was providentially limited. A French ambassador wrote to his own court, what is no mean praise of William, that he found him "such a passionate Dutchman and Protestant, that nothing could be made of him." William was too honest and too religious to be made a tool of by the bigoted Louis, and the profligate Charles.

The king now ostensibly took part with Holland against France. The negotiations that followed were long and complicated. Bribery and party interests influenced many, but peace between Holland and France was concluded in August, 1678, though not till the French ambassador had increased the jealousy of the popular leaders, by disclosing some of the secret negotiations between Louis and their monarch. The utter want of principle in Charles led to similar disregard of moral honesty in most of the leading political characters of that day; while

the particulars of these intrigues that transpired, tended to make the people at large more suspicious of secret designs and machinations.

The close of 1678 was marked by an affair which agitated the rest of this reign : what was called the discovery of the Popish plot. A clergyman named Tonge, and a wretched profligate named Titus Oates, also a clergyman, gave information to lord Danby, the treasurer, of a conspiracy against the king and the Protestant religion by the Jesuits ; Oates accusing many about the queen and the duke, as being concerned. The particulars were sworn to by him before sir Edmundbury Godfrey, a justice of the peace, under the idea that the king and the treasurer were disposed to neglect the matter. Tonge did not assume to be acquainted with the particulars, but repeated them from Oates, whom he brought forward. The king and privy council, after some hesitation, found it necessary to order the affair to be examined. The particulars were grossly improbable, but the public mind was much excited, and Godfrey, who had been missing for some days, being found murdered in a ditch on Primrose Hill, about a month afterwards, the general ferment became very great. It was taken up as a party matter ; the king and his advisers were obliged to let the affair proceed.

The papers of Coleman, secretary to the late duchess of York, were seized. He thought he had destroyed all likely to be injurious, but had overlooked some correspondence relative to the negotiations between Charles and Louis, which spoke of secret designs, so as to support the charge of a general conspiracy. Oates was an unblushing villain, some others of a like spirit came forward, who also deposed to a knowledge of the plot. These men were ready to swear against any one. The house of commons took up the matter warmly ; the exclusion of the duke from the throne was soon aimed at.

The history of the plot is long and complicated.

Many were executed. Among them Coleman, Ireland, Whitebread, and several other priests. Lord Arundel and others were accused. The duke of York withdrew to Brussels in February, 1679; Oates, with his supporters, went forward without a check till July, when he so evidently perjured himself on the trial of sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, that the accused was acquitted, and the public fury abated.

The real truth of this most remarkable affair never has been ascertained. The whole was strenuously denied by the Papists, but as positively asserted by their opponents. The truth may probably have lain between the extremes. That the Jesuits were then, as ever, engaged in nefarious plots against the Protestant interest and government, cannot be doubted; and they would not have hesitated to sacrifice Charles or any one, to forward their views. Nor did they ever scruple to employ the vilest characters. It seems, therefore, probable that they had some such design on foot, and that Oates was for a time one of their emissaries; but whether they discarded him, or whether, as he pretended, he left them, cannot be clearly ascertained: the former is the more probable; and that he then turned round and accused any and all whom it seemed to answer his purpose to point out.

The summary accounts of this remarkable affair are, for the most part very defective, being written to convey the opinions of the authors, rather than to give real information. The particulars must be sought in fuller narratives than such a sketch as the present can give. The reader will do well to refer to Burnet and other contemporary authorities. Burnet was personally a witness to the events then passing, and narrated them fully and faithfully; but as to general results, and the original causes of what was going forward, he was under disadvantage, from ignorance of the sources and causes of contemporary transactions. It has been well said, that the history of Burnet shows "in what colours the scene

appeared to a sensible, upright, and very active observer, living at the time." Beyond this it has never been possible satisfactorily to penetrate the Popish plot. There was at that time just cause to be apprehensive of Popish machinations; but there is equal cause to believe that the degree of alarm excited was far beyond what was required; for the popular fury, and for the villanous proceedings of the vile Oates and his assistants there can be no excuse. An important lesson, however, is presented by this plot: it shows the outrages which may be committed under the form of law, and the excesses by which civilized society may be disgraced when public alarm has been unduly excited. Such feelings never should be tampered with. Upon the whole, the view taken of it by Dryden, may not be incorrect:—

"Some truth there was, but dash'd and brew'd with lies."

The height to which party feelings among the higher ranks was carried, was shown in the house of commons in November, 1678, when sir Jonathan Trelawney, who afterwards was bishop of Winchester, struck Mr. Ash, another member. Both were in the act of drawing their swords, when the house interfered. The former was sent to the Tower, the latter severely reprimanded.

A man of bad character, named Bedloe, gave information relative to sir Edmundbury Godfrey's death, declaring that he had been inveigled into Somerset House, (where the queen then resided,) murdered, and his body afterwards conveyed to Primrose Hill. The evidence offered was improbable and contradictory, but three persons were convicted upon it, and executed. Any one examining the matter carefully, must come to the conclusion that the real facts, as to the death of Godfrey, have never been clearly ascertained.

The king endeavoured to allay the popular excitement, by which the treasurer, lord Danby, was now





OLD SOMERSET HOUSE.

involved. He was saved from impeachment by the king dissolving the parliament, which had sat since the restoration, but which could no longer be managed by him and his advisers. When the materials constituting this parliament are considered, with the extent to which they were become subservient, their resistance and the good results, are convincing testimonies of the value of a representative government, however imperfect. It was the impossibility of rendering such a body entirely passive, that caused the French ambassador to write, that England had no resemblance to other countries.

When a new parliament assembled in March, 1679, Charles stated that he had disbanded part of his army, and would dismiss the remainder when supplies were granted him ; and that he had directed the duke to leave England, that it might not be thought he was influenced by Popish counsels. The house of commons endeavoured to resume the proceedings against Danby, though the king had granted him a pardon ; after considerable discussion, the impeachment was dropped.

As a support against the house of commons, a new council of thirty individuals of property and consideration, half selected from each party, was appointed in April. This was under the advice of sir William Temple. Shaftesbury, who was the president, continued his intrigues.

The house of commons resolved to exclude the duke of York from the throne. The king was determined not to consent, but was willing to agree to limitations, of course intending to grant no more than he was compelled to do. Those who desired the exclusion, thought that he would give way ; they therefore neglected to accept his offers, though they would have embarrassed him by so doing. The refusal of what appeared to be satisfactory concessions, gave him advantage with the nation at large, and their proceedings were stopped by a prorogation,

May 27th, when a long series of servile addresses was sent up to the king from the universities and every part of the nation. Ralph says of these documents, that they form "a collection of testimonies that the people were weary of all those rights and privileges that make subjection right and honourable." The result was that, instead of being duly grateful for this loyalty, Charles, as usual, only took advantage of it to continue his profligate and selfish course.

Oates's credit having been blasted by his perjury, the proceedings against the Papists gradually cooled. Several were acquitted; but before the prosecutions ceased, lord Stafford was condemned for treason; he was executed on December 7th, 1680.

Before the prorogation of parliament, lord Shaftesbury procured the passing of a most important law, ever since a great protection against arbitrary or protracted imprisonment. By this law, called the Habeas Corpus Act, whoever has a person in custody, is obliged to show to the courts of law that he has legal authority for his proceedings, and a prisoner may claim to be discharged on bail if not indicted at the next sessions.

The king, finding the opinion of the nation with him, recalled the duke of York, and excluded the popular ministers, leaving his government with the earl of Sunderland and others. He also delayed the meeting of parliament till October, 1680. During the interval, Shaftesbury and his party endeavoured farther to excite the popular feeling against the court, and sent up many addresses declaratory of abhorrence of the servile principles of the court party. The whole nation seemed now to be divided into the two parties, then named Whigs and Tories, terms which have ever since been in use. The design of the former party was openly avowed: to set aside the duke, under the view that he would attempt to establish Popery. Here, then, the whole question of the rights of kings and the rights of the people was

again brought up. Before parliament met, an attempt to embarrass the court was made in a new form. The earl of Shaftesbury, with lord Russell and other peers, presented a bill in the court of king's bench, against the duke of York, as a Popish recusant, and against the duchess of Portsmouth, as a national nuisance ; but the judges stopped the proceedings by dismissing the grand jury.

When the parliament met, the king endeavoured to conciliate, but Shaftesbury and his party brought forward the bill of exclusion. They also designed to legitimate the duke of Monmouth, and have him recognised as heir to the crown. The bill was passed by the commons, but immediately thrown out by the lords, on a majority of sixty-three to thirty, the king being present. Other angry proceedings followed, both in and out of the two houses. In January, 1681, the commons resolved not to grant any supply till the duke of York was excluded, and to forbid the lending of any money to the king. This was followed by an immediate dissolution. Another parliament was called to meet at Oxford in March.

A retrospect of the affairs of Scotland must now be given. The arbitrary proceedings of duke Lauderdale and archbishop Sharp, aggravated the general discontent and desperation. The people being refused religious liberty, conventicles increased, many attending them with arms. Wild principles were maintained by some enthusiastic spirits, though disowned by the leaders. The government, on the other hand, required much more than the law allowed, demanding that landlords should answer for servants and even tenants, that they should not have any intercourse with the preachers, or resort to their religious services. This the landlords in the west of Scotland refused, upon which troops were sent into those parts. These were mostly highlanders, very unruly, plundering wherever they went. The rulers evidently wished to excite an insurrection, that they

might have pretexts to seize the estates of their opponents, but could not proceed so far as they desired.

On May 3rd, 1679, the conventicles had increased, as well as the efforts to disperse them ; an armed party were riding over a moor near St. Andrew's, when they saw archbishop Sharp returning from a council, with very few attendants. They were so frantic as to consider it was an opportunity providentially offered them to get rid of so great an oppressor ; they drew him out of his coach, and murdered him in the presence of his daughter. This act of atrocity struck the whole nation with horror, while it much diminished the abhorrence with which his memory would have been regarded, had he died a natural death.

About a month after, a body of the guards endeavoured to disperse by force a large conventicle on a moor near Glasgow, but resistance was made. Being armed and secured by their position, the guards were repulsed by the covenanters with loss. Concluding that matters were now at extremity, the covenanters did not disperse, but chose leaders, and advanced towards Glasgow. On the one hand no efficient measures were taken to disperse them ; on the other there was no arranged or well supported design for an insurrection. They were allowed to continue unmolested till the duke of Monmouth came down ; by that time a number of troops were drawn together. When he approached them, on June 22nd, they were posted at the bridge of Bothwell, on the Clyde, near Hamilton, about four thousand in number ; but, as Burnet says, " they had neither the grace to submit, nor the sense to march away, nor the courage to fight it out." They allowed Monmouth to force the passage of the bridge with ease, and on his approach to the main body they threw down their arms and ran away. Some hundreds were killed in the rout and pursuit, but Monmouth was more merciful than his associates ; he stopped the slaughter as soon as possible.

Even the king declared, that if he had been there

they should not have been troubled with prisoners ; but Monmouth said, such work was only fit for butchers, and showed to his father that the misguided resistance had only proceeded from undue severity. Lauderdale took care, however, to prevent the full adoption of lenient measures. Some of the prisoners were executed ; many others were transported. Such is a correct account of this brief rising, when stripped of the falsehoods with which a popular novelist has thought fit to dress it up, in his dislike to true religion. It was the momentary ebullition of a few hot-headed men, driven to desperation by oppression and cruelty ; it by no means indicates either the principles or proceedings of the great body of the persecuted sufferers for the truth in Scotland. The conduct of their persecutors is described by Wordsworth : he speaks of

“ Mountain, and moor, and crowded street, where lie  
The headless martyrs of the covenant,  
Slain by compatriot Protestants, that draw  
From counsels senseless as intolerant  
Their warrant. Bodies fall by wild sword law ;  
But who would force the soul, tilts with a straw,  
Against a champion cased in adamant.”

Just before the assembling of the new parliament, king Charles concluded another treaty with France, by which he was to receive a large sum of money, upon withdrawing from his alliance with Spain. The parliament met at Oxford in March, 1681, their debates were brief and stormy. Many of the members, in particular those for the city of London, arrived with armed attendants, the cry against Popery was general throughout the nation. The session began March 21st, when the commons ordered that their votes should be printed.

The question as to excluding or limiting the duke of York, came immediately under consideration. It was proposed that, upon the decease of the king, the government should be vested in a regent : first, the princess of Orange ; in case of her death the princess

Anne, unless the duke should have a son educated a Protestant ; in that case the regency was to last only till he came of age. But that the duke should reside five hundred miles from England, and though the government was to be carried on in his name, he was to be deemed guilty of high treason if he returned to his kingdom. The king approved of this expedient, but the leaders of the opposition saw that such an arrangement would be futile and easily set aside, if James were in any way considered monarch ; they urged the bill of exclusion, and the impeachment of earl Danby.

It was not to be expected that such proceedings should be allowed. On March the 28th the king dissolved the parliament, and hastened to Windsor. Shortly after he sent forth a declaration, stating some reasons for dissolving the last two parliaments, which made a favourable impression upon the nation. There was now a re-action against the Whigs ; on July 2nd the earl of Shaftesbury was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason, hooted by the rabble, but in November, a bill against him was thrown out by the grand jury of London, and great rejoicings followed. A man, named College, an active partisan against the Papists, was accused of a design against the king, though nothing could be brought against him except some violent expressions he had used ; on being tried at Oxford, he was found guilty, by the influence of the court, and executed.

In the summer the duke of York returned from the continent. He opened the parliament in Scotland as high commissioner ; matters were there carried with a powerful hand, an act being passed declaring that the succession was not to be set aside for differences in religion.

The prince of Orange visited England, but was not very pleasantly received by the king. He returned to Holland, convinced that a new political crisis was fast approaching. After he left, the duke was per-

mitted to return to England, and to see the king at Newmarket, when it was arranged that he should not interfere with affairs in England, but should have the government of Scotland. In the May following, the vessel in which he was proceeding northwards was lost off the Humber, with most of the crew and passengers. A few were saved, whom the duke admitted into his boat; among them was Churchill, afterwards duke of Marlborough.

The proceedings respecting the Popish plot, were brought to a close. The last victims were Plunket, the popish primate of Ireland, who was hanged with another, at Tyburn, as traitors, on July 1st. Two months afterwards, Oates was turned out of the lodgings he had been permitted to occupy at Whitehall, and deprived of his allowance. Plunket had previously been accused in Ireland, but the allegations were so improbable that the grand jury refused to find a bill against him. That country was kept in comparative quietness during the stormy proceedings of this period in England, by the prudence and wisdom of the duke of Ormond, who, though repeatedly ill-treated by the king, continued devoted to his service; he was appointed to that government in 1677, and remained in it till near the close of this reign, when he was recalled to give place to a son of the earl of Clarendon, on whom the king could depend for promoting his designs in favour of Popery.

The year 1682 exhibited further proofs of the decline of power of the Whigs. Sheriff Pilkington was cast in an action for scandalous words against the duke of York, when the judges, in defiance of an express provision of Magna Charta, imposed on him the ruinous fine of 100,000*l*. The king followed up the advantage he had gained; many of the corporations were induced or compelled to resign their charters, chiefly from the threats of Jeffreys, the chief justice: by these arbitrary measures the court could influence juries and the election of members. Many



opponents of the court left England ; among them Shaftesbury withdrew to Holland, where he died in January, 1683. He was an unprincipled politician, supporting first the arbitrary measures of the king, and then the extreme and factious proceedings of the opponents of the court, trying to turn all things as best suited his immediate purposes. Thus he made use of the Popish plot. His abilities were great, though misapplied : at times he was popular, and promoted the public welfare, but his utter want of religion rendered him a curse to the nation.

Irregular proceedings in regard to the London elections and magistracy agitated the public ; they ended in the forfeiture of the civic charter in June, 1683. The citizens were compelled to submit to conditions which gave the king a veto on the election of lord mayor, sheriffs, and other officers. In October, 1683, Tulse was appointed lord mayor by a commission from the king, empowering him to exercise the office during pleasure. Aldermen had previously been appointed. Evelyn, in reference to the annulling the charter of the city of London, notices that the old and most learned lawyers and judges considered these proceedings as contrary to law ; "but the plurality of the younger judges and rising men judged it otherwise." He remarks that "the Popish plot began sensibly to dwindle, so that the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever ; such sudden changes and eager doings there had been without any thing steady or prudent for these last seven years."

The king having determined to proceed in his arbitrary measures, resolved not to assemble the parliament ; he therefore diminished his expenditure as far as possible. Amongst other measures for this purpose, he withdrew the garrison from Tangier, and gave up that settlement.

In June, 1682, the court was farther strengthened by the detection of a design called the Rye House

1682.]

THE RYE HOUSE PLOT.

325

THE RYE HOUSE.



plot. As the last great conspiracy was of a Popish character, this was Protestant. There certainly was a design on the part of some who desired a republican government, to seize, if not assassinate, both the king and the duke. Walcot, Rumsey, Rumbold, Keeling, Ferguson, and some others, went to that extent ; but this atrocity never was arranged, while the more general and ostensible plan was only to limit the arbitrary measures then pursued, and to check the violent proceedings of the court. Lord Russell, one of the most excellent characters of the day, and Algernon Sidney, appear to have been willing to support the efforts against arbitrary power, and if possible, to exclude the duke from the throne, perhaps even to proceed to lengths not warranted by the constitution, these ended in their ruin. With them were joined the earl of Essex, lord Grey, the duke of Monmouth, and Hampden. Lord Howard acted as a connecting link between the two bodies, and afterwards became an evidence against the leaders just mentioned, who were implicated by his evidence alone, which was undeserving of credit.

Lord Russell was accused of being engaged in the darker conspiracy ; but nothing could be adduced to justify the imputation, beyond his having been once, partly through accident, in a room where he went to taste some wines, while two of the more violent had some conversation he did not join in or even hear, about surprising the guards. This, however, was adjudged to be treasonable ; he was condemned, and beheaded in Lincoln's Inn Fields, July 21st, a victim to the political strife of his day : he had not sought to escape, though from the first he felt that such was the enmity of the duke that his fate was certain. At his trial he employed his excellent and amiable wife, lady Rachel Russell, to take down notes of the evidence given. The accounts of contemporaries show the Christian principles which supported her under her heavy loss. She earnestly pleaded with

LORD RUSSELL'S LAST INTERVIEW WITH HIS FAMILY.



the king for the life of her husband, but was rejected, though her father had been a faithful supporter of Charles I. Evelyn speaks of the general persuasion that the king was inexorable, as to lord Russell and some others.

This design was called the Rye House plot, from the name of a house near Hoddesden, usually passed by the king and the duke on their way to and from Newmarket. The house belonged to Rumbold. It was said that the more violent of the party proposed to shoot the royal brothers as they passed the grounds. Such a design does not appear to have been arranged; a reason assigned was, that owing to a fire at Newmarket, the king returned to London some days sooner than he originally proposed. But conversations on the subject had been held, from which some of the party made up a story with sufficient plausibility to cause the conviction of their active associates, and even to implicate the favourers of the general design for resistance, although these were not really concerned in any plot against the king's person. In fact, the political struggle was now between despotism and popular power; the latter was weakened by the discontinuance of parliaments, while the king and the duke pursued their course with firm determination to crush their opponents by every means, lawful or unlawful. When importuned to spare lord Russell, the duke said, "If I do not take his life, he will soon have mine." A frank avowal of the tyranny he intended to establish, for no one supposed lord Russell had any personal enmity to the duke.

Sidney was condemned more directly for the broad question between monarchical and republican principles, the ostensible cause being chiefly a manuscript found in his study, wherein he asserted all power to be originally with the people, and that kings might be called to account. He suffered on December 7th, 1682, being executed for a writing he had not pub-

lished, which, as Evelyn observes, was not proved to be written by him, and appeared to have been written before the act of oblivion had pardoned all former matters. But the infamous Jeffreys, lately appointed lord chief justice to enforce the arbitrary and violent measures of the court, held that to write was to act, and insisted that it was the production of Sidney. He gloried on the scaffold that he was suffering for "the good old cause" in which he had been engaged from his youth. An important distinction between these two illustrious characters, Russell and Sidney, has been noticed; one laboured only to assert, the other was inclined to change the English constitution. The earl of Essex, also accused, was found in his apartment in the Tower with his throat cut. It was supposed he had committed suicide, but there were doubts on the subject, and it has been ascertained that his valet received a large sum from the secret service money. The deaths of Russell and Sidney were the more regretted on account of the bad character of lord Howard, who had been a decided party in the conspiracy, and saved his life by witnessing against others by no means so far concerned as himself.

The duke of Monmouth acknowledged some concern in the plot, but afterwards denied it, and was banished. All resistance now was prostrated; the king proceeded to lengths of arbitrary power, far beyond those of his father, but the nation had suffered so severely from civil contests that there seemed to be no inclination to resist. The university of Oxford, in July, 1683, passed a decree in convocation against the doctrine of resistance; this was presented to the king with much solemnity, and of course very graciously received by him. It condemned many propositions extracted from the writings of Papists, and of those concerned in the late civil contests. The court made fully as much use of the Rye House plot as their opponents had done of the Popish plot, and

as unfairly. All resistance appeared to be so crushed that even a parliament might have been called ; but this did not suit the views of France, Charles was again supplied with money, to enable him to proceed without calling together those who would have desired that the progress of the French arms should be opposed.

In the beginning of 1684, the earl of Danby was liberated ; also several peers imprisoned on an impeachment for being concerned in the Popish plot, while many of the popular party, were prosecuted and subjected to heavy fines, on various charges of libels and other political offences. Among these Dutton was sentenced to a fine of 100,000*l.* for words against the duke of York. Oates was sentenced to a like fine on a similar accusation : these fines were intended to subject the party to perpetual imprisonment. The duke now was restored to power in England, the navy being again committed to him, though he was not appointed lord high admiral.

Judge Jeffreys was the great instrument in these atrocities : the king gave him a ring from his own finger as an acknowledgment of his eminent services, and sent him as a sort of legate on a circuit through the provinces, to give the opponents of the court "a lick with the wrong side of his tongue," to use the coarse phraseology of the judge himself. The king advised Jeffreys to beware of drinking too much, for this disgrace to the judicial character usually closed his daily brutal violence by drinking to intoxication. Burnet says, "The people were very apprehensive of black designs, when they saw Jeffreys made lord chief justice, who was scandalously vicious, and drunk every day. The persecution of dissenters," Burnet also says, "was carried very high all this year ; they were not only proceeded against for going to conventicles, but for not going to church." He adds, that "many were excommunicated, and ruined by the prosecutions."

The dispersion at Bothwell Bridge did not wholly put down the oppressed Covenanters. A number of them, headed by a minister named Cameron, wandered from place to place, concealing themselves at intervals, and then appearing in arms. Their leader was soon killed in an encounter at Ayrsmoss, but his followers rallied under Cargill, and publicly disowned and excommunicated the king, the duke, and others. This increased the severity of the government; great numbers were tortured and executed. The earl of Argyle was tried and condemned upon a charge of treason, grounded upon his refusal to take the oath of passive obedience; but he escaped from prison just before the time appointed for his execution. The proceedings that followed under the duke of York, differed little from those of the inquisition. More than two thousand persons were outlawed; and the soldiers were ordered to shoot any who would not declare against the proceedings of Cameron, and profess loyalty to the king. Numbers of the peasantry were seized, who, on refusing to take this test, were shot without any trial, even at their own doors; wives and kindred were persecuted for harbouring their husbands and relatives. The result was that the mass of the people were compelled to resort again to the churches, though as Burnet relates, "making it evident, that they did not come to worship God, but to stay some time within the walls." The bishop adds, "Yet most of the clergy seemed to be transported with their condition, and sent up many panegyrics of the glorious services which the duke had done their church."

When the Rye House plot was detected, those of the Scottish nation implicated in the proceedings were sent for trial in Edinburgh, where evidence still less formal than in England, was admitted against them. Baillic of Jerviswood was condemned; being not likely to survive many days, he was executed on the afternoon of his condemnation.



Others also suffered, but some escaped to Holland. Tortures were inflicted upon numbers to extort evidence. The sight of these torments was so disgusting, that the members of the council who ordered them would not be present unless compelled, yet the duke voluntarily remained, and beheld the scene with unmoved indifference.

Gordon of Earlstone, though under sentence of death, was ordered to be tortured to obtain evidence against others, but the sight of the instruments drove him mad. In the whole of these proceedings, the duke countenanced transactions which fully account for the general desire in Scotland to set him aside from the throne. The estates of the sufferers were seized by the retainers of the duke, among whom the infamous Claverhouse, miscalled by poets and novelists, "the gallant Græme," was prominent. Dumbarton Castle, a stronghold on the Bass Rock, with other places of confinement, were crowded with the Covenanters; on one occasion, a number were driven into one of the churchyards of Edinburgh, and there confined without food till many perished; others picked the grass from the graves. It was a period of cruel oppression, of which no end appeared to be in prospect.

In the beginning of 1685, all complaints seemed to be suppressed, for the whole of the Whig party throughout the kingdom was completely put down; but Charles did not long enjoy the apparent triumph. Evelyn noting the death of the king, describes the last public appearance of this monarch:—the world may call such things happiness, but it presents an awful lesson. He says, "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and prophaneness, gaming and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God, being Sunday evening, which this day se'night I was witness of, the king sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleaveland, Mazarine, etc., a French boy singing love songs, in that glorious



THE BASS ROCK.

gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least two thousand in gold before them, upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, all was in the dust." The exemplary Evelyn might, however, well have been asked, "What doest thou here?" at Whitehall, on the day of sacred rest.

At that very moment, the word seems to have been sent forth, the days of this wretched king, like those of him of old, were numbered and finished; weighed in the balances of the sanctuary he was found wanting. On that very night, the king was seized with a fit of apoplexy, and died at Whitehall, on the 6th of February, having reigned twenty-five years from his restoration. His death-bed was what might be expected from his life. When his senses returned, he evinced anxiety for his mistresses and their progeny, but no care for the nation, or for those who had served him. The clergy in attendance could hardly venture to be faithful with this dying sinner, nor indeed had they much opportunity. When death was evidently at hand, the duchess of Portsmouth spoke to the French ambassador; at his instigation, the duke had the room cleared, when the king having assented, Huddleston, a popish priest, who had been allowed to remain at court, on account of services after the battle of Worcester, was secretly brought to the bed-side of the dying monarch, after being instructed by a Carmelite monk, as he was "no great doctor." He then administered that bit of paste, which by the tenets of the church of Rome is held to be a passport for heaven. Charles so considered it, and thanked the priest for having saved his soul, as he had formerly saved his life—thus dying with a false hope on his lips, and as was afterwards known, with some reliance on a bit of rotten wood; for James told Evelyn, that his brother in his last agony, called earnestly upon him to take the contents of his

pockets, which he did, expecting to find some private keys or other matters of the sort, but found only a few papers of no consequence, with a cross of gold containing what was said to be a fragment of the true cross!

The character of this monarch sufficiently appears from every act of his life. He was indeed awfully consistent in the practice of every vice, during his whole reign. The small degree of restraint upon his conduct, and the very few measures at all favourable to the people, proceeded only from his fixed determination to retain the throne, or, as he told his confidants, "not again to set out on his travels." The men he chose for his government and personal favour, sufficiently evidence what spirit he was of. Even the few who were men of moral bearing, were disposed to support and further illegal and arbitrary proceedings. The wretched state of England appears sufficiently from one circumstance. The anxiety and regret of the people at hearing of his last illness was strongly evidenced—not from any regard for one who had so outraged the nation, but from the still greater dread of the avowedly Popish successor.

The progress of society, however, produced some few improvements in this reign, among which may be noticed the commencement of a better system in regard to the public roads, by requiring those who used them to contribute to the repairs; this was begun upon the great north road. The colonization of America also proceeded. Carolina was settled soon after the restoration, and subsequently Pennsylvania; the latter being occupied by Penn, the leader of the Quakers, known as "the Society of Friends." The right of possession of this province was conceded by the king, in consideration of a debt owing to the father of Penn, and by the natives, in virtue of a treaty with the Indians, by whom a stipulated quantity of commodities was accepted, though they had no just idea of the far greater value of the land they relinquished.

Though a peaceable bargain, and as such very preferable to spoliation by violence, the transaction cannot be cleared from the imputation of taking advantage of the ignorance of the natives.

It had been rumoured that the king intended to dismiss his brother, assemble the parliament, and pursue more conciliatory measures when his course was thus ended; it was also at the time said that poison had been administered to hasten his death. This latter report does not appear to have sufficient foundation, though it has been noticed by some historians of character. The reign of Charles II. presents much that might be instructive both to people and to princes if rightly considered. "Oh that they were wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end."

Of the profligate favourites of this reign little need be said. Rochester was permitted to exemplify true penitence, and to manifest anxiety to leave a dying testimony that might in some measure counteract the evils of his former example and licentious writings. Buckingham, dying in "the worst inn's worst room," was suffered to give a striking instance of the folly of those, who, for that mere morsel of worldly gratification, the life of pleasure, sell their spiritual birthright, and do not obtain satisfaction even in this world. Contrast with these Temple, Marvel, and others, who were uncorrupt in that age of profligacy. Remember the latter refusing the thousand pounds, offered him by the minister in power, then turning to dine on the cold remains of his yesterday's meal, and sending to borrow a guinea to be repaid by literary labour, and view his contented spirit inditing the beautiful lines—

"When all thy mercies, O my God,  
My rising soul surveys,  
Transported with the view, I'm lost  
In wonder, love, and praise."

## JAMES II.

REIGNED THREE YEARS AND TEN MONTHS.

*From the 6th of February, 1685, to the 11th of December, 1688.*

ALL opposition to the succession of the duke of York to the crown of England, had been subdued before his brother was called to give account of his reign to the King of kings. The council assembled immediately on the decease of Charles II., when James addressed them in terms declaratory of a desire to conciliate, assuring them that it should be his "endeavour to preserve the government, both in church and state, as it is now by law established:" terms which he failed to observe. Hitherto he had been found scrupulous in keeping his word; the people therefore believed in his promises.

In some respects the beginning of the reign of James II. promised improvement. Though no change was made in the officers or proceedings of the government, to use the words of Evelyn, an eye-witness, "The face of the whole court was exceedingly changed into a more solemn and moral behaviour, the new king affecting neither profaneness nor buffoonery;" but in less than two years, he bestowed titles on one mistress, and on the progeny of another.

The late monarch was buried on the night of February 14th, 1685, with very little ceremony. He was soon forgotten, and his successor as soon began to show forgetfulness of his early pledges. On the following Sunday he proceeded in state to the Romish service, causing the doors to be set wide open during

the ceremonial of mass. On the first occasion the sword of state was carried by lord Powis, a papist, who entered ; on another by the duke of Norfolk, who stopped at the entrance. "Your father would have gone further," said the king. "Your majesty's father would not have gone so far," replied the duke.

James soon showed bigoted attachment to the popish religion, by zeal in seeking to make proselytes; among other things, he had two papers printed, containing some common-place arguments in defence of Popery, which were found in his brother's cabinet. These were probably documents given to the late king, which had been influential upon his mind. An agent was sent to Rome, to signify the intention of the new monarch to reconcile England to the pope. The pontiff, however, recommended him not to hurry matters.

Another proceeding showed that James adopted the family determination to consider the royal authority paramount to law. The customs, and part of the excise, had been granted to the late king only for his life. Under this difficulty it was advised, either to take bonds from the importers, or to keep the amount received separate till parliament had directed the disposal ; but James at once issued a proclamation, commanding that the duties should be paid and applied as usual. This was a step directly opposed to the constitution of the realm.

Another measure, in itself desirable, though founded also on the dispensing power, was liberating numbers of Papists and Nonconformists from prison. The coronation was performed in April ; but some of the rites, including the administration of the Lord's supper, were omitted.

The dealings with France continued ; the earl of Rochester did not scruple to tell the French ambassador that James must be made independent of his parliament ; Louis sent about 20,000*l.*, which sum James received with grateful acknowledgments. It

is evident that the main object of the French king was to prevent the English monarch from interfering with the affairs of the continent; therefore, while pensioning the king, the French ambassador was secretly engaged in fomenting jealousies, and opposition to the royal proceedings.

Oates was one of the first who felt the king's severity. He was convicted of perjury, heavily fined, sentenced to be pilloried twice, whipped from Aldgate to Tyburn, and subsequently to be pilloried five days in every year. This unmerciful sentence was executed, but the sufferer survived; it had the effect of turning the abhorrence he deserved into something like pity. Dangerfield, suffered in like manner, but died from the thrust of a cane. A barrister who struck him was tried and executed; the popular feeling being violently against him.

The degree of liberty dissenters were to expect, was shown by the persecution of the excellent Baxter, who was accused of having published sedition, in some passages of his paraphrase on the New Testament. Judge Jeffreys behaved with his usual disregard of justice, at the very commencement of the proceedings calling Baxter a rogue and rascal, and comparing him to Oates, at that time standing in the pillory. At the trial, on May 30th, the judge raged with his accustomed violence, silencing the counsel, and stopping the attempts of Baxter to explain or defend his writings, and to show there was no ground for the allegations against him. The judge rested not till after the mere mockery of a trial, he had done what he was charged by the court to effect; the venerable minister was found guilty, fined 500 marks, to be imprisoned till it was paid, and bound to good behaviour for seven years. Evelyn, speaking of Jeffreys as chief justice, says, "He went thorough stitch in that tribunal."

The parliament assembled on May 22nd, when James repeated the terms of his declaration to the



the great hall of Mass. On the first occasion the orator of the state was assisted by Lord Powis, a papist, who declared that in order by the duke of Norfolk, who was one of the assistants. "Your father would have been a Catholic," said the king. "Your majesty's father would have been a Catholic," replied the duke. James's sincere and ingrafted attachment to the Catholic religion was not in seeking to make proselytes, but in the things he had two papers printed, containing some of the English arguments in defence of the Catholic religion, which were found in his brother's cabin. These were the first documents given to the king, which had been influential upon his mind. James was sent to France to signify the intention of the king to leave England to the pope. The pope's father recommended him not to leave England.

At the same time, James adopted the Catholic religion, and considered the royal authority as being in the hands of the pope. The customs and part of the law, which had been granted to the late king only for a limited time, the liberty of the subject, either the king or the pope, or to keep the law as it was, and the parliament had directed that James should issue a proclamation, commanding that the taxes should be paid as of old times. This was a step directly opposite to the intention of the king.

Another measure of great importance, though not of the same importance, was liberating the Catholics and Nonconformists from prison. This was performed in April: but some were unwilling the administration of the Lord was very much.

The dealings with France continued; the Netherlands did not struggle to tell the French king that James must be made independent of parliament. Louis sent about 20,000*l.*, which James received with grateful acknowledgments.

June 20th, contrary to the advice of his best friends, Monmouth assumed the title of king, which act set many men of influence against him. He was obliged to dismiss crowds who flocked to him, for want of supplies, or means to organize them, and was advised to push forward to the more central counties ; but after an ineffectual attempt on Bristol and Bath, he turned aside towards Wiltshire. Hearing of the defeat of Argyle, he despaired of success, and retired to Bridgwater. By this time the earl of Feversham reached Sedgemoor with the royal army. As a last resource, a night attack upon the king's forces was resolved upon. This failed, partly through the misconduct of lord Grey. The insurgents were routed. Monmouth fled, leaving his adherents, of whom 1,500 were slain, and 500 taken prisoners, after a severe resistance.

The duke was discovered in a ditch near Wood-yates in Dorsetshire, two days after the battle. Thoroughly humbled, he wrote to the king, entreating his life, and promising important disclosures if permitted to see his uncle. James assented, he saw the duke on July 13th, but on the following day wrote to the prince of Orange, that Monmouth's chief desire seemed to be to live ; that the disclosures did not answer expectation, and that he had signed the warrant for execution of the duke. On the 15th he was executed, after having begged for his life on any terms. Grey was spared on paying large sums to some in authority, but the royal command went forth, for the exercise of the utmost severity on the mass of Monmouth's followers.

Narratives of the atrocities that followed are related by contemporary authorities ; to them the reader must be referred for details unexampled in English history. Colonel Kirk, who had served in Africa, was let loose with his hardened soldiery, whom he ironically called his "lambs ;" people were tortured and hung by scores, without even the form



CAPTURE OF MONMOUTH.

of a trial ; a few only thus selected for summary execution were allowed to purchase their lives.

The horrors of martial law were soon exceeded by atrocities perpetrated by Jeffreys under the forms of justice. He was sent with a special commission on what the king unfeelingly called "Jeffreys' western campaign," accompanied by a body of troops placed under his immediate command. It was truly named by the nation, "the bloody assize." The first person tried at Winchester, on August 27th, was an aged widow, the lady Lisle, who had harboured two fugitives from Sedgemoor, though ignorant that they had been in arms. The jury were bullied till they found her guilty, when she was sentenced to be burned. The clergy of Winchester interceded, much interest was testified in her favour ; but, after a short respite, she was beheaded on September 2nd. On the 5th, the lord chancellor North died ; Jeffreys was immediately raised to the office, but proceeded on his bloody career. The prisoners were ordered for immediate execution if they did not save him the trouble of a trial by confessing their guilt ; and as any evidence against them was deemed sufficient, many obeyed the threats of the judge, and thus added a few days to their lives.

At Taunton nearly 1,100 were arraigned ; of these 1,040 pleaded guilty. Only six stood their trials ; at least 239 were executed in a few days in that town and in more than thirty surrounding villages. The heads and limbs of the sufferers were fixed up in every part of those districts. The travellers turned with disgust from the highways, to avoid these spectacles of horror. Thousands were sentenced to transportation, which at that time was selling them as slaves to the West Indies, at from 10*l.* to 15*l.* each. Large sums were thus received by some of the courtiers and favourites, to whom the prisoners were assigned by hundreds. The twenty-six young ladies of Taunton were pardoned

on payment of about 100*l.* each, which was given to the queen's maids of honour as a present.

Nor were the proceedings confined to those who had engaged in the insurrection. Hampden, though in prison, was compelled to pay 6,000*l.*, which was divided between the new lord chancellor and father Petre, the king's confessor. Jeffreys also was allowed to exact 15,000*l.* from a person named Prideaux, whose friends found that endeavours were making to suborn evidence against him. A female named Gaunt was burned alive in London for harbouring one of the accused, who himself gave evidence against her! It only remains to be stated, that James thanked Jeffreys for his proceedings, and often at the levees related the particulars from his letters. Several hundreds were executed in the western counties. Romanists have compared these severe proceedings with those in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, after the rising in the north: but the cases widely differ, in addition to the important circumstance, that more than a century of advance in civilization had taken place. They do not admit of comparison when the greater extent, and longer continuance of the northern insurrection is considered; neither did Elizabeth encourage or allow any horrid levity, corrupt judicial proceedings, or sanguinary thirst for blood, like that displayed by the minions of James, and encouraged by that monarch. At the time this might awe the people, but it left a dreadful impression of abhorrence at the arbitrary and cruel measures to which this popish king evidently had no dislike. Whatever might be the appearance at the moment, these measures undoubtedly hastened the downfall of James. Had such scenes been often repeated, our country would have been destitute of those blessings for which it is justly celebrated.

But the Scripture tells us not to marvel (or be troubled) at the violent perverting of judgment and

justice, for He that is higher than the highest regardeth, and there be higher than they. And we cannot wonder that a king who was taught to disregard the word of God, and make it void by traditions, should not attend to the admonition, Prov. xx. 28 :

“ Mercy and truth preserve the king :  
And his throne is upholden by mercy.”

The government of James had hitherto been conducted by Halifax, Sunderland, Rochester, and Godolphin ; but James dictated his own measures, being much influenced by father Petre, or Peters as he was usually called. His instruments also were such characters as Jeffreys and Kirk. James now resolved to get rid of Halifax, who was not likely to further his desires to remove the Test and Habeas Corpus acts, designed as barriers against Popery. Halifax was dismissed ; this strengthened the feeling in parliament against James. An address was voted, requesting the king to discharge all military officers who would not take the test. The object was clear ; during the late insurrection a considerable number of Romanist officers had been employed to levy troops ; the king was resolved to keep up this standing army, though contrary to law, to support his views in favour of Popery and arbitrary power. James with displeasure said he did not expect such an address, on which Coke, one of the members, said he “ hoped they were Englishmen and not to be frightened out of their duty by a few high words.” For this he was sent to the Tower, the result was, that the parliament was prorogued on June 15th, and was not assembled again during this unhappy reign. Sunderland, who was now prime minister, secretly embraced the popish religion. The influence of Rochester declined.

The failure of the attempts of Monmouth and Argyle strengthened James, but his proceedings left a deep and embittered feeling in the minds of all

Protestants. This was increased by the unscrupulous efforts of Louis XIV. to root out the Protestant faith in his dominions by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which had assured the French Protestants of the free observance of their religion. Thousands of refugees who took shelter in England, told of the persecutions in France. Evelyn, who was favourably disposed to James, therefore not very ready to take alarm, notes, "Unheard-of cruelties to the persecuted Protestants of France, such as hardly any age has seen the like, even among the pagans." He makes other similar remarks, and in one place observes: "Such examples of Christian behaviour have not been seen since the primitive persecutions, and doubtless God will do some signal work in the end, if we can with patience and resignation hold out, and depend on his providence."

The blind determination of James led him next to claim a dispensing power, by which he assumed the king's right to put aside all acts of parliament, or other legal restraints. This was promoted by the subserviency of the chief justice Herbert: other judges did not hesitate to declare against the existence of such authority, for which they were displaced. As all appeared secure, the coachman of sir Edward Hales was directed to bring an action against his master for 500*l.* penalty for holding a commission in the army, he being a Papist. His master pleaded the king's dispensation. Only one judge opposed this; the chief justice declared that it was part of the royal prerogative for the king to dispense with penal laws when he saw fit. The next step would be, that the same power had authority to make laws.

In Ireland, Tyrconnel was allowed to interfere with the lord deputy. Measures to favour Popery and discourage Protestants, were there hurried forward still more openly than in England. Protestant officers and soldiers were, under various pretences, discharged in defiance of agreements; many of them

proceeded to Holland, to enlist in the service of the States.

At the commencement of 1687, Evelyn says there was much discourse that so many "should be dismissed from their offices, for adhering to their religion : Popish justices of the peace established in all counties, of the meanest of the people ; judges ignorant of the law and perverting it. So furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel princes to violent courses." Controversies went forward : the same writer states that the Papists "were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises : evincing the doctrine and discipline of the reformed religion to the manifest disadvantage of their popish adversaries."

It has ever been thus, in the words of the prophet : "To the law and to the testimony : if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them," Isa. viii. 20.

The leading divines of the established church had, for some time, inculcated passive obedience ; but the dangers now gathering round them awakened many to consider the subject farther. The result was their determined opposition to the Popish measures of James II. It was well for the civil liberties of the nation that James had thus attacked their religious rights. The king sought to subdue this by reviving a power, even stronger than that wielded by Laud. An ecclesiastical commission was formed, with authority to carry out what was deemed expedient, "notwithstanding any law to the contrary." The worthies to whom this power was committed were bishops Cartwright, Crewe, and Sprat ; with Sunderland, Rochester, Jeffreys, and Herbert. Archbishop Sancroft declined to act in this illegal commission. The bishop of London was ordered to suspend Sharp, who had preached against Popery, but refused to do what he considered contrary to law. On this James directed the commission to suspend the bishop ; and Rochester, who



opposed these measures, was dismissed. Other acts of severity followed with such eager efforts to proselytize, that even the pope's nuncio condemned the king's haste. The new converts were not many; the profligate poet Dryden was one; but Kirk, when pressed by the king, is said to have replied, that if he changed his religion, he had pledged himself to the emperor of Morocco to become a Mohammedan.

Several monastic establishments were formed; attempts were made to set up Romish seminaries, and to control the schools and colleges in existence. Magdalen College, Oxford, was ordered to elect a Popish head; most of the fellows were expelled, and Romanists put in their places, because they resisted. A contest with Cambridge arose, on the king ordering that honorary degrees should be conferred upon some known Papists. This being refused, the vice-chancellor was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical commission, deprived of his office, and suspended from the mastership of his college. These arbitrary efforts to establish Popery were preceded by a royal declaration for liberty of conscience. The principle was unexceptionable, but the means for carrying it into effect, namely, the dispensing power; and the object in view—the establishment of Popery, at once showed that true and effective toleration was not really intended. The Nonconformists availed themselves of this opportunity to worship with less secrecy than before; but for the most part they bore powerful testimony against the Papal religion, under which they knew no Protestant would be spared. They were fully aware that the granting temporary liberty, when it had served the turn of those in power, would be followed, as in former times, by the most decided oppression and persecution.

The preamble itself indicated arbitrary assumptions, stating that it was issued by virtue of the royal prerogative, “making no doubt of the concurrence of our two houses of parliament when we

shall think it convenient for them to meet." This was taking for granted the very power which Louis had just exercised in France for the suppression of the reformed religion. Had any doubt existed of the determination of James to re-establish Popery, it was farther proved by the public reception of the pope's ambassador at Windsor. The duke of Somerset, then lord in waiting, declined to introduce the nuncio; but the duke of Grafton presented him, while Crewe, bishop of Durham, and Cartwright, bishop of Chester, were present at the ceremonial. On the preceding day, July 2nd, the parliament was formally dissolved.

The king was warned even by Papists. Amongst others, the Spanish ambassador stated to him the danger of such proceedings. On being asked, whether, in Spain, the king did not consult with priests and confessors, he replied, that it was so, but that was the reason their affairs went on so badly. The infatuated king continued to take all power into his own hands, while he thus allowed himself to be guided by incompetent religionists, father Petre, a Jesuit, with Sunderland and Butler, two converts to the Papacy, directing public affairs under him.

For some time there had been no male heir to the crown. At the close of 1687, an announcement of the possibility of such an event was made public; but, from the same moment, many, even the princess Anne, did not scruple to assert that a supposititious heir was to be produced. Evelyn records, in his diary, his own doubtful views on the subject.

Early in 1688, the king caused another outrage on the feelings of his subjects. The elector of Cologne sent, as envoy to England, a Benedictine monk who had been tried for his life during the Popish plot. James not only received him, but directed him to appear at court with his attendants, in the habit of their order. The French ambassador censured this senseless and bigoted proceeding

While the nation was thus agitated, the king sent out another declaration of indulgence, ordering all the clergy to read it in their churches. The majority now laid aside their views of passive obedience ; it was determined at Lambeth that the declaration should not be generally read. Six bishops met the primate and a few others of the clergy and nobility, and resolved to petition the king, not to insist upon their distributing and reading the declaration. This petition the bishops presented on their knees, when James openly declared it to be an act of rebellion, and dismissed them with expressions of anger, declaring that God had given him this dispensing power, and he would maintain it.

Very few of the clergy read the declaration : it is stated not more than two hundred in the whole kingdom. Even Jeffreys thought the king had gone too far ; but it was resolved to prosecute. The seven bishops were charged with a misdemeanour, bail being refused they were committed to the Tower. They were—Sancroft, of Canterbury ; Lloyd, of St. Asaph ; Ken, of Bath and Wells ; Turner, of Ely ; Lake, of Chichester ; White, of Peterborough ; and Trelawney, of Bristol. These bishops became popular. Being conveyed by boat to the Tower, the shores were crowded by multitudes who knelt and asked their blessing. While in confinement they received many testimonies approving of their conduct. A deputation of ten of the principal Nonconformists assured them they would rather remain under their existing disabilities, than obtain privileges on the king's terms. Happily, since that time, their disadvantages have been removed ; and as yet Popery is not dominant, though incessantly struggling for the mastery. Louis encouraged James to persist in his decided course. On June 15th, the bishops were brought up to plead, when their trial was ordered for the 29th. The king thought himself secure of the judges, and of a subservient jury. The question soon

turned on the dispensing power ; judge Powell, notwithstanding the threats of the chief justice, declared that the king had no such authority, consequently the petition could not be a libel, not being against any legal power. The trial was unusually long for that period ; it lasted till seven in the evening ; the jury were locked up all night, but at nine the next morning they gave their verdict "Not guilty." The roof of Westminster Hall seemed to shake at the loud shout of applause that followed ; the metropolis, in every street, resounded with rejoicing ; even at the camp at Hounslow Heath, where the king was reviewing the troops, a shout made him inquire the cause of the clamour. Lord Feversham said it was nothing but the soldiers rejoicing at the acquittal of the bishops. "Call you that nothing !" said the angry monarch.

On June 10th, a prince was born ; there is no reasonable cause to doubt the fact, but at the time the popular cry was, that it was an imposture, and that the child had been conveyed to the room in a warming pan. The event was very important, as it brought affairs to a crisis. There could not any longer be the hope that if matters were allowed to go on, they would ere long be set right by the princess of Orange coming to the crown ; and the safety of her husband was more than ever threatened by the proceedings of Louis, and the measures of James. Many of the nobility and gentry joined in secret consultations, they agreed to invite the prince to come over with an armed force to redress grievances, and to inquire as to the legitimacy of the infant. Sunderland, though prime minister, took measures for securing himself, seeing that the fall of a weak bigot, like James, was fully to be expected. Russell and Herbert, two admirals, promoted discontent against the king amongst the seamen ; the latter, as well as lord Mordaunt, the earl of Shrewsbury, with several others of rank and influence, went over to Holland, and offered to aid

William. The name of the prince of Wales was omitted from the prayers in the chapel of the Stadtholder. On one occasion James tried the temper of his army by ordering a regiment to be told, that if they were not willing to see the laws against the Papists repealed, he wished them to lay down their arms. Nearly the whole did so, to the confusion and surprise of the king, who told them to take up their arms again, and tried the experiment no farther.

Regular correspondence with the Hague was now maintained, chiefly by two able agents, Dykvels and Zuglistein, who were sent to England on various pretences. Lord Danby, with the earls of Manchester and Devonshire, managed affairs in England. Among these associates was Churchill, afterwards the famous duke of Marlborough, who owed much to the personal favour of the king. The leaders carried on their most secret consultations in a vault at Hurley House, between Maidenhead and Henley. Only seven signed their names to an invitation, but these were enough to show the prince that there was a strong feeling in favour of his coming. Sidney, admiral Russell, and Compton, the bishop of London, were of the number. They assured him that nineteen out of twenty in the nation desired a change. That William should venture upon such an enterprise, under all the difficulties of his position, speaks much for his courage and calm determination, while those difficulties, it has been well observed, increase the obligation of the English nation to him.

Early in August, 1688, the preparations for an expedition to England were nearly completed. An army of 15,000 soldiers, a fleet of 70 ships, and numerous transports, with artillery and all necessary stores, were made ready, under the pretext of preparations for defence against France. The Protestant princes of Germany felt the importance of this effort, they gave their aid, but the actual decision of William was known to very few persons. The kings of

Vault at Hurley House.



England and France did not think the armament was really designed against the former. The chicanery and deception on all sides were very great. Even Louis, when convinced as to the real design, kept back the information from his royal dupe till the middle of September. He then offered to send a military and naval force ; but though almost unmanned by the intelligence, James saw the necessity openly to decline such aid, though privately he requested it might be kept in readiness. Evelyn notes, that on September 18th, he found the court in the utmost consternation on the report of the preparations of the prince of Orange.

Up to this time James persisted in his arbitrary measures, one of the last had been to cashier the officers of the regiment commanded by his illegitimate son, the duke of Berwick, upon their objecting to the introduction of a number of Papists into their ranks. This greatly disgusted the army. James was now fully awakened to a sense of his danger, and began hastily to retrace his steps, replacing many of the magistrates, speaking respectfully of parliaments, and even pretending to advise with the bishops ; the president and fellows of Magdalen College were also restored ; but the public saw all this was the result of fear. The popular feeling was further excited by a pompous ceremonial at the baptism of the prince, the pope being nominally the godfather. Reports as to the supposititious birth of the prince being industriously circulated, the king caused depositions to be taken before the council. On this occasion, the archbishop of Canterbury, the marquis of Halifax, and the earls of Clarendon and Nottingham, refused to sit at the council table with Papists. On the 22nd of October, the king declared Petre should no longer act as a member of the board, and on the 27th, Sunderland was dismissed, but Evelyn describes "the Jesuits hard at work to foment confusion among Protestants by their usual tricks."

William took leave of the States of Holland in a public audience, when he avowed that the main object of his expedition was to establish religion in England on a secure basis. A solemn fast, with earnest prayer for the success of his arms, was held on October 17th ; on the 19th the prince sailed, displaying a flag bearing his own arms and those of England, with an inscription, "I will maintain the Protestant religion, and the liberties of England." In a few hours a storm dispersed the fleet. At first the loss was deemed so severe that the expedition was expected to be deferred till the spring ; but in a few days nearly the whole of the ships were again collected at Helvoetsluys. The loss was chiefly of horses. On November 1st, William again set sail with a fair wind.

The public expectation in England had become intense. It was now known that the prince was invited by many leading characters of the day. The king convened the prelates who were in London, and demanded if this was their case. Most of them could expressly deny the charge ; Compton, bishop of London, gave an evasive reply. James only ventured to require them to draw up a public declaration, stating their abhorrence of the designs of the prince of Orange. This was delayed, though the king repeatedly pressed its completion.

The Dutch fleet at first stood to the northward, but as soon as the vessel watching their motions had disappeared, the course was changed ; the next day they were seen from Dover, standing down the channel, nearly seven hundred sail. On November 4th, the fleet anchored in Torbay. William wished to have landed that day, which was the anniversary of his birth and marriage ; but the people in general rejoiced that the landing could not take place till the 5th, the day of the detection of the gunpowder plot, a conspiracy which, however horrible, was equalled in atrocity by the designs of James and his abettors.



William marched to Exeter, but the cruelties lately perpetrated by Jeffreys and Kirk had so cowed that district, where he remained a week, that the prince began to think he had mistaken the voice of the nation. James had a considerable number of soldiers, but could not rely on their support. Lord Colchester, a friend of Monmouth, and lord Cornbury, the son of Clarendon, joined the prince, with a few of their soldiers; as William advanced, others were daily added. James proceeded to Salisbury on the 17th, but saw the disaffection of many who attended him, and returned to London in a few days.

Lord Churchill, the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, even the prince of Denmark, husband of the princess Anne, left the king, and joined the invader on the 25th. Anne and lady Churchill fled from London to Nottingham. The bishop of London, in his youth a soldier, escorted the princess, riding before her, sword in hand, with pistols at his saddle. At last, leading men took up arms in favour of the prince of Orange in several places, even the university of Oxford offered him the plate of the colleges. Towards the end of the month, a declaration was issued at Nottingham by many of the nobility and gentry, stating their resolution to join the prince of Orange. They said, "We hold it rebellion to resist a king that governs by law, but he has always been accounted a tyrant that has made his will his law." This, from the first to the last, was the point in contest between the kings of the race of Stuart and their subjects. Many of the priests fled, including father Petre, and the king's conduct showed evident signs of despair. Evelyn, on December 2nd, noted in his diary, that there was universal consternation among the Papists, adding, "It looks like a revolution."

On December 10th, at night, the queen in disguise, with her infant, crossed the river to Lambeth. From thence she proceeded with a very few attendants in a coach to Gravesend, where she embarked for Calais.

FLIGHT OF THE QUEEN OF JAMES II.



The night following, the king, after recalling the writs for a parliament, also crossed to Lambeth with sir Edward Hales, casting the great seal into the Thames, to stop all legal proceedings and thus create confusion. Some time afterwards it was found by a fisherman. He then rode to Feversham, where he embarked in a small vessel; but the weather detained him, when being taken for a Jesuit, he was brought rudely on shore. James made himself known, and being rescued by lord Winchelsea, showed himself wholly destitute of moral courage, chiefly lamenting that he had lost a scrap of wood said to be a relic of the true cross, lately found in the tomb of Edward the Confessor. In this extremity, he was ready to exclaim, like Micah, "Ye have taken away my gods, and the priest—and what have I more?" Judges xviii. 24.

The prince of Orange had by this time advanced to Windsor. In London all was confusion; reports of all sorts were circulated. The mob, hearing that the Irish were massacring the Protestants, and excited by other alarming reports, destroyed some Popish chapels, and searched for priests and Jesuits, but did not take away life. The pope's nuncio escaped in the dress of a footman, but Jeffreys was seized in Wapping, disguised as a sailor. The rabble spared even this vile wretch, they only carried him before the lord mayor, who, at his own desire, sent him to the Tower for security. He died there not many weeks afterwards.

On December 11th a council of about thirty peers then in London, including some bishops, assembled at Guildhall to take measures for securing the public peace. The prince of Orange was invited to London, and lord Feversham was directed to go to James with two hundred of the Life Guards, to protect him on his way in any direction he might prefer. To the general surprise, James chose to return to London, where he invited William to confer. The people in

the city expressed compassion as he passed, but on the day he returned he attended mass, and had a Jesuit to say grace at his table.

This return was embarrassing. As it was evident that James could not be maintained on the throne, or entrusted with supreme power on any conditions, it was much better that he should quietly withdraw than be expelled, which could not be done without violence likely to be disastrous to the nation. He was, therefore, advised to withdraw. To hasten him, some regiments of Dutch troops were marched to Westminster. Lord Craven, then in command at the palace, declared he would resist, but James ordered him to draw off his guards, whose places were taken by those of William. Lord Halifax went to the king, then in bed, and told him he must withdraw to Ham before the prince arrived. James desired rather to go to Rochester. This was agreed to; on the 18th he took barge for Gravesend, under the protection of other boats with Dutch soldiers. No hinderance was offered to his escape. On the night of December 23rd, he walked through the garden of the house, and embarked on the Medway with a few attendants. He then went on board a fishing vessel, hired for him, and sailed through the fleet at the Nore without obstruction. His voyage was short. On the morning of the 25th he landed safely at Ambleteuse.

Thus was England freed from the rule of a persecuting bigot, to whom no gratitude was due, except for his quiet withdrawal, thereby preventing much bloodshed and disastrous confusion; and thus ended the kingly government of a race of monarchs whose leading principle had been to consider that their will was to be law to their subjects, and that the duty of the latter was to obey the regal mandates, whatever they might be, even to the setting of false religion in place of the truth. Thus an instance was given, how, when the kings of the earth set

themselves against the Lord, he will visit them in wrath, and trouble them in his sore displeasure.

Lengthened remarks on this reign are unnecessary. The acts of this monarch's government fully show the principles by which he was actuated, and time has disclosed sufficient evidence of hidden proceedings, base and disgraceful, and directly hostile to the civil and religious liberties of the nation. Resistance was necessary, unless absolute monarchy and ecclesiastical tyranny were to be recognised as the only right principles of government. Such a conclusion really is maintained by all who condemn the revolution of 1688.



## WILLIAM III. AND MARY II.

REIGNED FIVE YEARS AND TEN MONTHS.

*From 13th of February, 1689, to 27th of December, 1694.*

THE history of England during the century preceding the revolution in 1688, exhibits a struggle between the body of the nation and the ruling powers both civil and ecclesiastical. The great changes in society, with the increased national prosperity during the sixteenth century, gave strength and importance to the middle ranks, which the sovereigns were slow to understand. Even Elizabeth, from whose efficient government much of this prosperity arose, was unable to understand this. Her personal conduct maintained her popularity under measures which cannot be approved ; but her successors, with many more deficiencies, and a still greater tenacity for monarchical rule, were not likely to establish their views. The anarchy from 1640 to 1660 might have made Charles II. and James II. wiser, but their want of principle, with the devotion of the one to his licentious passions, and of the other to superstition, again brought on a crisis, from which the nation was providentially relieved by the flight of the last king of the Stuart race. Two females of that line then wore the crown in succession ; but constitutional rights were better understood, and no longer resisted. From this period the unexampled prosperity of Great Britain rapidly increased ; the work of Divine Providence is clearly to be marked, in thus preparing the nation, as the favoured instrument to promote the Christian religion, sending forth the glad tidings of the gospel through the earth.

The peculiar state of affairs after the flight of James II., required measures for which there were no precedents. The tory party still urged the doctrines of passive obedience, and that the crown of England never was, nor could be, considered as elective. The whigs saw that it was necessary to avoid what must bring the nation back to a renewal of the scenes just passed through. They, therefore, insisted that James had abdicated, and that the vacant throne must be filled. This led to a compromising resolution, that James II. had endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between the king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of his kingdom, he had abdicated the government, and the throne was thereby vacant. Long debates and conferences between the houses followed; much stress was laid upon the word abdicated—it was not a strife of words,—the term was important, as settling the grounds of proceeding. The tories urged a regency, but William told them he would not be regent, nor reign only in right of his wife. This at last led to the important decision that no Papist should reign in Britain, and that William should be the monarch, but jointly with Mary his wife during her lifetime.

On February 12th, 1689, the princess arrived in London from Holland; on the day following king William III. and queen Mary II. were proclaimed as joint sovereigns. On that day both houses presented a declaration, or Bill of Rights, not thereby altering but renovating the free constitution of England, raising it from the abject state to which it had been brought by the Stuarts. It was needful to pass an act declaring the convention to be a parliament, and an oath of allegiance to king William and queen Mary was taken. Eight prelates and several temporal peers declined the oath, consequently they

did not sit in the house of lords. These, with the lower clergy and other persons who adopted their views, were from that time called "non-jurors:" they were more or less attached to James and his descendants, and desirous again to place them upon the throne, indifferent to the arbitrary power and Popish superstition which such a restoration must establish. Many desired to see such a state restored; but the great body of the nation, happily for themselves and their descendants, were wiser; they could discern that, though subjects are taught by Scripture to obey, it is not less required of rulers to govern in the fear of the Lord. The duty of Christians to submit to the powers that be, is clearly stated; where they are situated as in the primitive times of Christianity, they have no conflicting duties to perform; but in later days, and in Christian nations, in which every person has a public duty of his own to discharge, he is bound by the same rule to endeavour to prevent the departure of others from their public duties.

William was a right-minded man, who patiently endured much wayward opposition from those having a latent partiality for James, but not going to overt acts. His ministers he selected from those who had given him personal support. Lord Danby he made marquis of Caermarthen; his countryman, Bentinck, as earl of Portland, was actively employed in the government; the earl of Nottingham was made secretary of state, though he had promoted the plan for a regency in the name of James. The administration of justice was committed to able and impartial characters. The coronation took place on April 11th, the bishop of London being chief officiator, archbishop Sancroft having refused to take the oath. In April, also, the toleration act was passed, by which the body of dissenters were freed from the penalties to which they had been subjected, provided they took the oath of allegiance. The teachers were still required to declare assent to the articles that related



to faith, but were excused as to those relating to discipline.

The naturally reserved, cold manners of William, were relieved by the affability of the queen ; but it was plainly seen that the new monarch was not of that facile temper which renders a king subservient to his courtiers, or delighting in a crowd of flatterers. Little was to be hoped for at the new court from favouritism, so the number of idle courtiers was very small. The king and the queen set examples of decorum by their conduct as individuals. The queen in particular was pious, domestic, and desirous to promote the public welfare. Evelyn describes her as "seeming to be of a good nature, and taking nothing to heart ; while her husband was thoughtful, serious, and silent, treating all persons gravely, and very intent on affairs."

In Scotland, as in England, there was a strong party for James. At Edinburgh, a convention was assembled under duke Hamilton, it was by constitution an independent kingdom. Two Scottish regiments then in England declared for king James. They marched northward, but were overtaken and disarmed by the Dutch troops. This gave rise to the law, since passed every year, for punishing mutiny and desertion. A letter from the exiled king, partly cajoling, partly threatening, was laid aside unanswered ; the Scottish convention declared that king James, "having violated the laws and liberties of the nation, had thereby forfeited his title to the crown." This was followed on April 11th, by an act for settling the crown upon king William and queen Mary, which was offered to them in form by deputies the following month. After the bitter persecution by which the Scottish episcopal church had domineered over the consciences of those who differed from them, persecuting even to death, it was not to be expected that the nation would be favourable to the continuance of that establishment. An act for the abolition

of the episcopal order in Scotland was passed. Under the sanction and orders of James, his partisans took up arms, and began a civil war ; but the profligate Claverhouse, viscount Dundee, was the only nobleman who came forward in support of that monarch and the prelates. He succeeded in collecting some followers among the ignorant, predatory clans of the Highlands. With these he marched southward ; but he fell by a musket-shot, in an encounter at Killycrankie with general Mackay and the English troops, in the moment of victory, after which his followers dispersed. It is much to be regretted that the efforts of the poet and novelist have been devoted to uphold the evil cause, and gild over the character of this bad man ; but the world loves its own ; the poet and his hero, in their respective spheres, though at a long interval, both showed themselves opponents of gospel truth. It is not, therefore, surprising that the efforts of both should have been directed to promote that which is evil rather than good ; but for the more talented and recent character there is no excuse. He saw the benefits his nation received from the displacement of popish tyrants, so that a heavy weight of responsibility lies upon him for having given currency to falsehoods, deceiving many of the present generation as to the proceedings and characters of the leaders of the past century. Evil effects from his fascinating untruths are too apparent.

It is well to add, that in Dundee's pocket was found a letter from lord Melfort, stating that the promises of indulgence, toleration, and indemnity, were so worded that James might break them when he pleased. The duke of Gordon held Edinburgh Castle for king James ; but finding it useless, after the defeat of the Highlanders he surrendered that fortress, and no further open resistance appeared. The nation, however, was not in a settled state, for the partisans of the house of Stuart caballed in secret,

while those who opposed them sought to limit the royal prerogative farther than William was willing to concede.

In Ireland the contest was yet undecided. There the greater number of the people were Papists, consequently James had supporters on whom he could rely, and he determined there to make a struggle for his kingdoms. Tyrconnel, the viceroy, his partisan, whose profane and violent conduct in the latter part of the reign of king James is described by lord Clarendon in his diary, by deceitful proceedings facilitated the measures of James, who having the assurance that a French force should follow, embarked with above a thousand followers, among whom were several peers, the late chief justice Herbert, Cartwright, bishop of Chester, and the bishop of Galway. With these he landed at Kinsale, March 12th.

The Protestants had been already alarmed, and mostly withdrew into the towns in the north. A regiment of Scotch and Irish Papists were ordered to occupy Londonderry, the inhabitants of which were almost wholly Protestants. The citizens were roused ; but while their chiefs were deliberating, the troops approached the entrance of the town, when nine young men shut the gates. The people chose a governor, and determined to resist all likely to injure them, declaring they had no other design. After some other proceedings, the Protestants of the north found it necessary to take up arms, when lord Lumley was commissioned by William to hold Londonderry for him.

James entered Dublin in state, accompanied by his Popish ecclesiastics. The Protestants who had hitherto adhered to him soon found themselves set aside, and a large army was assembled to subdue Londonderry. Some troops sent by William had arrived ; but considering that the place could not be defended, they retired. The magistrates then sent a request to be allowed terms, but the people rose

Dreading the severities which they knew would follow, they again shut the gates, and fired on James, who was approaching. The governor withdrew, but a clergyman named Walker, who had been driven from his parish, was there with a body of armed followers. He was made commandant, and brought the place into some order for resistance. The defence was continued under every disadvantage. James witnessed eleven unsuccessful attacks, before he left the army to open the parliament at Dublin, early in May.

His measures there were all calculated to re-establish Popery. He decreed the restoration of the property forfeited by the leaders of the massacre in 1641, while all who adhered to William were declared traitors. Three thousand persons were thus attainted. The ecclesiastical endowments were transferred to the popish priesthood. Other arbitrary measures followed, amongst which was the enforcing of a base metal coinage of copper, or gun metal; money not worth 6*d.* being made current for 5*d.* Merchants were forced to give up their goods for payment in this coin; the commodities were then sent to France for sale, by the agents of James. This ruined thousands, and provoked further resistance. A proclamation ordered all persons to worship only in their own parishes, though in many instances the Papists had seized the churches. Thus James showed that no dependence was to be placed on his declarations for liberty of conscience. An additional proof was given by his sending soldiers to turn the Protestant fellows out of Trinity College. Many Protestants were imprisoned, and a general massacre was apprehended. These violent measures rendered James still more an object of dislike.

It was late in the spring before William was able to support the Protestants in Ireland, but the brave defenders of Derry continued to maintain that city, under every suffering of privation, pestilence, and famine. A convoy under colonel Kirk appeared

with succours in the beginning of June, but he retired without attempting to pass the batteries of the Popish army. The courage of the besieged was rendered desperate by the threat of James's general to exterminate all Protestants; following up this threat, he drove a helpless multitude under the walls to perish with famine, it being impossible for the inhabitants to admit or relieve them. But this cruelty was brought before James in the parliament house; after an attempt to excuse the barbarity, he found it necessary to order the release of those who survived.

On July 30th, two vessels with stores forced their way to the city; the siege then terminated, after a period of almost unexampled resistance during one hundred and five days. Eight thousand of the besiegers had perished when Rosen withdrew the survivors. The protracted defence, and consequent employment of the army of James, tended to save the nation. At length, in August, marshal Schomberg arrived with an English force; but the country, already ravaged, afforded no supplies, sickness spread among the troops, till both armies withdrew to winter quarters. In the summer, admiral Herbert had been forced to retire from the shores of Ireland by the French fleet.

To return to the affairs of England. One difficulty likely to arise from the non-jurors, was met by an act passed on April 24th, 1689, requiring all persons holding any office in church or state to take the oaths, or they would be deprived of their preferments, which was done in October. The Papists were also placed under various disabilities. No heavier severities followed; all Protestant Nonconformists were freed from penalties and entitled to toleration; the penal laws being suspended in regard to Protestants who dissented from the established church, provided they took the oath of allegiance, and met for worship with doors unfastened. Bishop Burnet states, that

the king was anxious to grant liberty of conscience; that "he always thought that the conscience was God's province, and ought not to be imposed upon. His experience in Holland made him look upon toleration as a wise measure of government. He was troubled to see so much ill humour spreading among the clergy, and by their means over a great part of the nation."

The act declaratory of the rights of the people, known as the Bill of Rights, was passed on December 16th. It gave up the pretended dispensing power of the crown, and the executing laws and levying money by royal command without the consent of parliament. It protected freedom of speech in parliament, and the right of petitioning; also, what is a most important benefit and blessing, it declared that no Papist, or king or queen marrying a Papist, should rule in England. In all such cases, the subjects are released from their allegiance, and the crown passes to the next in succession; it was further enacted that the king was not to keep up a standing army without consent of parliament.

War with France was declared, as necessary to prevent Louis from pursuing his designs, and troops were sent to Holland, under Churchill, now created earl of Marlborough. It was a defensive war; but the charge pressed heavily on the national resources. The revenue was with difficulty increased to four millions, but large sums were borrowed, increasing the national debt, and rendering it permanent.


The soldiers sent to the continent were those raised by James, therefore not likely to be willing to fight against their master. Others had been levied to serve in Ireland, where, as already stated, nothing efficient had been done, which caused discontent. The king found it necessary to interfere between the parties at home, the whigs endeavouring to limit his power more than he thought just.

In May, William prorogued the parliament, and

proceeded to Ireland, where he took the command of his army, immediately showing the difference between himself and James, by strictly prohibiting all violence and rapine. From Carrickfergus he marched towards Dublin, but was opposed by James in person near the river Boyne. A ball slightly wounded William while reconnoitring. A false report of his death was spread, which caused great rejoicings at Paris, and excited hopes even at Rome. The next day, July 1st, a battle was fought. The army of James was defeated, he hurried from the field, being the first to carry the news of his own defeat to Dublin, where he advised the persons in authority to submit to king William. He then hastened to Waterford, at which port he embarked for France. This battle, though severely contested for a time, and deciding the fate of the three kingdoms, was not marked by much bloodshed. About one thousand five hundred of the vanquished, and five hundred of the victors fell. Among the latter were marshal Schomberg, and Walker who defended Londonderry.

Bonnell, then holding an official situation, describes the apprehensions of the Protestants in Ireland before the battle of the Boyne, with their joy at the deliverance. "They congratulated and embraced one another as they met, like persons alive from the dead, and going about from house to house to give each other joy of God's great mercy, inquiring of one another how they passed the late days of distress and danger." He adds what shows the extremity to which they had been brought, and the feelings with which such deliverances should be welcomed, "Oh that this may be a happy type to us, as it is as truly an emblem as this world can give, of the joyful meeting of the servants of God in heaven, when all the terrors of death and judgment shall be over, and Christ, our great Deliverer, shall have put all our enemies under his feet."

About this time the English and Dutch fleets were





COLUMN ON THE BOYNE.



defeated by a more powerful armament of the French off Beachy Head. The English admiral was dismissed. He had not properly seconded the Dutch squadron. But only three ships were lost, though the channel was left open to the enemy, who destroyed Teignmouth, but returned to Brest without any further attempt.

After the battle of the Boyne, a large part of Ireland submitted to the authority of king William, though the partisans of James made a successful resistance at Limerick. William returned to England. Cork and Kinsale were taken, but the Irish continued in arms during the winter with some success.

The year 1691 began with a congress in Holland, of German, English, Spanish, and Dutch plenipotentiaries, when a general confederation was solemnly entered upon, to limit the encroachments of Louis XIV. A large army of the confederates was formed in the Netherlands, commanded by king William, which checked the progress of the French, though without any advantage to the allies. The principal event in England during this year was the destruction of part of the palace of Whitehall by fire. Evelyn says: "April 10th. This night a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone gallery at Whitehall to the waterside, beginning at the apartment of the late duchess of Portsmouth, (which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her,) and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauched both king Charles II. and others, and were his destruction. The king returned out of Holland just as this accident happened."

Sancroft was at last removed from the archbishopric of Canterbury, after throwing all the difficulties he could in the way of the ruling powers, by refusing, with some of his brethren, to discharge the duties of their offices in unison with the government of king William, even if they were allowed to act without taking an oath of allegiance to that monarch. When

at length removed from their offices they entered into correspondence with James, and continually forwarded intelligence to him. They also consulted him as to their ordaining other bishops and priests, and endeavoured to keep up a separate church. The attempt was in vain. This party gradually dwindled away, though it did not finally become extinct till the end of the last century. Those who belonged to it, as was to be expected, became more closely assimilated to Popery in their views concerning the sacraments and on other points, and have done lasting injury to the Protestant church of which they professed to be members. Some leading non-jurors endeavoured to provoke William to take severe measures against them, but he saw the design, and disappointed it.

In June, 1691, the troops of William were again successful in Ireland. St. Ruth, a French general, sent to command for James, fell in battle at Aghrim. The siege of Limerick was resumed ; it ended October 3rd, by a treaty which secured to the Papists the free profession of their religion, with pardon and protection for the property of all who would submit. A very different measure from that proposed by the partisans of James. A few days afterwards a French fleet arrived with succours, but too late to be of service. A number of the Irish troops embarked for France, where they were formed into regiments in the French service. The Irish were now reduced to obedience to William, but their treatment for many years was too much like that of a conquered people, resulting from want of wisdom in the successive administrations, the unhappy effects of which are experienced at the present day.

The commencement of 1692 was marked in Scotland by a deed which much disgraced the government of king William ; it is called the massacre of Glencoe. The facts may be shortly told. After the establishment of king William's government, several

of the Highland clans continued attached to king James, and committed acts of violence upon their more peaceable neighbours. The earl of Breadalbane engaged that, by dividing 12,000*l.* among these clans, he would induce them to submit to the authority of William. This plan was far preferable to any measures by force of arms, which would have been difficult to effect, and would have cost many lives. Still the execution by fire and sword, which the laws denounced upon open rebels, was threatened against those who did not submit by January the 1st following. But the fact of money being paid having become known, the leaders raised their demands, submitting very unwillingly, and but just before the day fixed.

One of the most tardy was Macdonald of Glencoe, the head of a small clan notorious for predatory proceedings, in fact, little better than a band of common thieves. Among other robberies on a large scale, they had stolen a number of cattle from earl Breadalbane, who, having to pay their chief money, insisted upon deducting the value. Glencoe refused to consent or submit. This being made known to the government, with a probably overcharged account of the delinquencies of the clan, an order was sent to earl Stair, the secretary for Scotland, that it would be a proper vindication of public justice to extirpate that race of thieves, if they could be separated from the rest of the clans. The last day of 1692 drew near, when Macdonald thought of the useless danger of bringing down the force of the kingdom upon his people, and hastened to Fort William to take the oath of submission on the last day of December. The governor, not being a magistrate, declined to administer the oath. Macdonald then hastened to Inverary, but was hindered by the snow, so that it was a few days after the limited period, when he applied to the sheriff. That officer considering that the last circumstances of the delay were not the fault of Macdonald, allowed

him to take the oath. The chieftain returned home, considering that he had secured his safety. Stair, however, sent up a warrant, ordering military execution on the clan, which was passed for the king's signature, among other papers, without his being aware of its object ; no account of his submission had been sent, nor was proper attention paid to this at Edinburgh. In February, captain Campbell, with some other soldiers of earl Breadalbane's clan, marched into the valley of Glencoe, and quartered there under the pretence of collecting taxes. After living on friendly terms with the inhabitants for a fortnight, Campbell one night left the chief, with whom he had been carousing, and ordered his people to massacre the men of Glencoe. About thirty were slain, 160 escaped, but the cattle were driven off, and the houses plundered, leaving some of the women and children to perish from want and the severity of the weather.

Such an act under the Stuarts would not have been much thought of, among their hundred-fold atrocities ; but it was justly censured under such a government as that of king William. There is no reason to suppose that he was aware of more than a determination to send soldiery against a nest of thieves in actual rebellion, but he ought not to have allowed even this to pass without more inquiry. Stair, Breadalbane, and Campbell deserve severe censure for this atrocious deed ; the former was dismissed from his office, but although the deed was mainly a party act, such as in less settled times often disgraced the Highlands, it was popularly regarded as emanating from the English government, and has left a lasting stain on the memory of king William and his ministers. Nor is such a feeling to be objected to, however misplaced, when urged by the old or modern partisans of James. The blessings of good government enjoyed by these islands since the revolution in 1688, can only be maintained by due

regard for justice and lenity, which must ever revolt at such a measure as the massacre of Glencoe. It was afterwards investigated by the Scottish parliament, and voted a barbarous murder. Rulers should ever have before them the declaration of Scripture by the wisest of monarchs, "Mercy and truth preserve the king, and his throne is upholden by mercy."

In England, this year began with renewed attempts against the person and government of king William, in which several of the nobility and leading persons were concerned, while large preparations for an invasion from France were made. But on May 19th, the English and Dutch fleets, under admiral Russell, completely defeated the French fleet off Cape la Hogue, twenty-one of their men-of-war being destroyed. This stopped the invasion, and put an end to the hopes of the supporters of James. Marlborough at this period was in correspondence with the exiled monarch, and was confined in the Tower for some time. The campaign of 1692, in Flanders, was not marked with decisive success to either side. A severe battle was fought at Steinkirk, in which William was defeated, but was able to prevent the French from obtaining any results from their victory.

The war requiring large supplies to be annually granted, a regular sitting of parliament every year became necessary, thus an effectual check was placed against arbitrary power. At that time matters tended to the contrary extreme. The king found it necessary to refuse to assent to a law, for preventing persons in official situations from sitting in the house of commons, and to another requiring the election of a new parliament every three years. The house of commons, however, felt the necessity for maintaining the present government; though the majority were landed proprietors, they agreed to a land-tax of four shillings in the pound on their estates. Large sums were also raised by loans.

In a brief history of England like the present, little notice can be taken of the military proceedings on the continent, in which England became involved by the connexion of her monarchs with Holland and Germany; and in which the money at her command by the borrowing system from this time regularly pursued, enabled her to take an active part. These continental warfares occasioned the immense and unprecedented national debt of England. It is worthy of remark, that as the origin and progress of this debt was owing to those wars, and in fact encouraged them, so the present magnitude of the incumbrance has for many years been instrumental in keeping peace among the nations. And God in his providence overruled all this warfare and bloodshed to carry forward his purposes, even to repress that bigotry, superstition, and tyranny to which it was at first owing, and which has at various times re-kindled the flames of war. The character of this warfare on the part of the Popish powers, was again shown in 1693, by the horrible conduct of the French at Heidelberg, when the inhabitants of that city suffered cruelties even beyond those inflicted upon the palatinate and other districts, by the arms of that Louis who was falsely called by the world "The Great." The allies were unsuccessful on land in the campaign of this year, while the French captured a large number of merchant vessels at sea.

On his return to England in November, 1693, William found considerable discontent prevailing, upon which he resolved to change his ministry. Fresh efforts for carrying on the war were settled; the English troops were to be increased to eighty-three thousand men. Additional taxes were imposed, among which were the first stamp duties. The public debt, about this period, had increased to thirty-four millions, the large rate of interest then paid, with the sacrifices for raising money, rapidly swelled the amount of principal. The necessity for

further advances led to the instituting a national bank, whose capital, at first 1,200,000*l.*, should be lent to government at three per cent., then a very low rate, in return for which the subscribers were to have certain advantages for money dealings; the amount was raised in ten days, thus the Bank of England was established, without which the monetary system of the following century could not have been pursued.

The immediate result was, the fixing a more certain value to the exchequer bills, and other documents given by government in lieu of money, on which the bank made considerable and profitable advances, from the money deposited in it, and produced by the issue of its own notes. The act for raising the capital of the bank received the royal assent, April 25th. A plan for a national bank had been proposed in the latter part of the reign of Charles II.; but the villanous fraud of shutting up the exchequer, prevented the needful faith in that prince and his government. The East India Company was further established this year. The national commerce progressed, notwithstanding the losses by the war.

The year 1694 was marked by some useless attacks upon the French coast, the expense of which exceeded the damage caused to the enemy. One good, however, resulted from the war even at this time: it led to an interference for the Vaudois or Waldenses, who had been severely persecuted. They had been for nearly three years expelled from their native mountains and valleys, but a small band re-established themselves. Their sufferings affected queen Mary, who caused pecuniary assistance to be raised for them, by which they benefited many years afterwards.

The king again returned in November, when he told the parliament that the state of public affairs was improved, and that the progress of the French

had been stopped. He pressed for further supplies: more than four millions and a half were voted for the army and navy in the coming year, although the country suffered much from a bad harvest, owing to a wet season. Wheat was sold in London at 3*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.* the quarter, then a very high price.

Towards the end of 1694, archbishop Tillotson died, having by his wisdom and moderation done much to quiet ecclesiastical matters. The spiritual condition of the church, however, was in a very low state; for though the bigotry and superstition of Popery were discarded, and the fierce and unscriptural assumptions of those who emulated the views of Laud did not appear, there was little of real piety, another system of will-worship was substituted for what had been taught in the school of that restless prelate. It was more rational, but not more scriptural, for the righteousness of man was still sought to be put in place of the righteousness of God.

A most afflictive event for the nation at this period, was the death of queen Mary, who died of the small-pox, then a pestilential disease, on the 28th of December. She was deeply regretted by the nation at large, though the feelings of the bigoted partisans of James appeared from the text chosen by a Jacobite divine, the words of Jehu respecting Jezebel,—“Go, see now this cursed woman, and bury her: for she is a king’s daughter.” Few monarchs died more deservedly regretted than Mary II. Kind, gentle, and pious according to her degree of knowledge, she was an exemplary wife and a good sovereign. She did much to conciliate the nation, and to set a right example. Many thought that her conduct on first coming to England showed too much indifference to the misfortunes of her father and family, but king William seems to have required this from her.



## WILLIAM III.

REIGNED THIRTEEN YEARS.

*From 13th of February, 1689, to 8th of March, 1702.*

THE death of queen Mary in December, 1694, brought into notice the princess Anne as the next heir to the throne, the king assigning her apartments at St. James's, and presenting most of the queen's jewels to her. He consented to the triennial act, securing more frequent elections of parliaments, and did much to establish better discipline in the army.

Efforts were made to stop the bribery and corruption then almost universal. Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house of commons, was expelled for having received a thousand guineas from the city of London, on passing a bill to secure an interest of four per cent. from the city revenues, to orphans whose money had been intrusted to the chamber or treasury of the city, and sunk in expenditure on public buildings. The duke of Leeds, president of the council, was accused of having received a larger sum from the East India Company. Other members of the house of commons were also punished. It appeared that 70,000*l.* had been distributed by the East India Company in bribes; but these investigations were stopped by the prorogation of parliament.

On the continent, in 1695, the allies succeeded in taking the strongly fortified city of Namur. The French general Luxembourg died early in the year; he was succeeded by Villeroy, far inferior to him in abilities. The French frequently experienced reverses. On the return of William as usual after the

campaign, a new parliament met, in which the strength of the whig party was found considerably increased. Further efforts in the war were urged, and a re-coinage of the money in circulation was resolved upon, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* being granted for the purpose, to be raised by a tax upon windows. The restoration of the national currency was one of the most important benefits of William's reign. By clipping, wear, and other circumstances, the bulk of the money in circulation was reduced in value to less than half the nominal amount, the disadvantage of which was felt in the trade with foreign nations, and in all the transactions of government; while newly coined money immediately disappeared, being worth double what was usually in circulation. Guineas then generally passed for thirty shillings; when the new coinage appeared they were reduced to 21*s.* 6*d.* Much embarrassment for a time was caused by the slow progress of the new coinage, the mint not being able to give a weekly supply of more than 80,000*l.* The country markets were at a stand, which caused some tumults; while the impossibility of providing specie compelled the Bank of England to pay their notes only by instalments, causing them for a time to fall one-fifth of their value. In a few months these evils were remedied, and great benefits resulted from the improvement. The renewal of the coinage was the prominent event in 1696. At the close of the year, the loss on the old coin was ascertained to exceed two millions of pounds sterling.

The promotion of trade was a material object in the policy of William, but one measure of this nature increased an unpleasant feeling in Scotland. A plan was formed for establishing a company to trade to Africa and the Indies, to which a large sum was subscribed in the north. A charter was given, permitting the establishing of a colony on the isthmus of Darien, supposing that it would be desirable to send goods by that passage instead of the usual sea voyage. A fort

was erected, and a town planned, but commercial jealousy had been excited in England; resolutions were passed against the scheme by the house of commons. The English colonies were forbidden to give any assistance, while the Spaniards attacked the colonists thus settling in the territories of Spain, and they were obliged to surrender. This caused much loss and irritation in Scotland, which the government endeavoured to allay. Among other measures, a royal message to the house of lords suggested a union of the two kingdoms. An act to facilitate this was passed by the peers, but thrown out by the commons. So little were the true interests of the kingdoms understood, that measures to discourage the woollen manufacture in Scotland were proposed.

Another event early in 1696, was the detection of a plot for assassinating king William, by Barclay, Perkins, and others. There is clear proof that designs of this character were repeatedly encouraged by James and his principal supporters. At the end of February an association was framed, binding those who joined in it to avenge the king, if his life should be ended by violence, and to support the act of succession. But the repeated designs for assassinating king William added much to the feeling against the Stuarts. It is great cause for thankfulness, that amidst all the hatred and strife of parties in England, abhorrence of assassination has not been overcome. Evelyn says, "Though many did formerly pity king James's condition, this design of assassination and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was like to produce a more perfect establishment of king William." About a hundred members of the two houses declined to take the engagement. Preparations for an invasion were at this time made. James came to Calais to join the enterprize, but the English fleet being superior at sea, the design was given up. Several of the conspirators were executed. They had been allowed the assistance of counsel, when tried—

a new regulation, favourable to all accused of treason. Sir John Fenwick, one of the number, was attainted by an act of parliament, there being but one clear witness against him, another having been bribed to withdraw. He was beheaded in January, 1697.

The scarcity of money consequent on the re-coinage, prevented active measures during the campaign. The land bank plan not having been successful, three millions were issued in Exchequer Bills, these were found very useful, and have been continued as a species of currency.

At the close of this year, an ineffectual attempt was made to revive a censorship of the press. Since that time the press has been free in England, writers and publishers being amenable to the laws in case they offend. A licensing act had been passed soon after the Restoration, which expired in 1679, but it was revived in the reign of James II., and continued till 1694. It was then allowed to expire, and the attempt to renew it three years later was unsuccessful. Lord Somers was still chancellor. The earl of Sunderland had considerable influence, but was obliged to resign in the year following. The earl of Portland was employed in negotiating peace with France ; a general treaty was signed at Ryswick in September, 1697. France had to restore the Spanish possessions, and engaged not to disturb king William ; but it was, unhappily, not found possible to make terms for the French Protestants. The main principle of the treaty was to bring back matters to the state in which they had been before the war.

The year 1698 commenced with a destructive fire at Whitehall. Thus perished the greater part of a palace, where many vile and sinful deeds had been transacted during the last two centuries. It was no longer suitable for a royal residence. The czar of Muscovy, known as Peter the Great, spent some months in England to learn the art of ship-building, and to observe the national manners and customs.

He had previously been a considerable time in Holland, and on his return to his own country exerted himself to civilize his subjects and introduce improvements. When in England the people were disgusted by the barbarous conduct of himself and his attendants. The house where he resided at Deptford was described to Evelyn its owner, as being in "a right nasty condition."

Several measures were adopted to repress vice and profaneness, and encourage morality and the profession of religion. Amongst these were societies for the reformation of manners, which became greatly extended in a few years. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was established in 1698, to promote the Christian religion in the colonies, but with little result. It was not till the formation of other societies a century later, that extended and active efforts for the evangelization of the heathen were made by English Protestants. The evil effects of the profligacy of Charles II. and his court, had become apparent in the great mass of the people: the generation that preceded, who had been trained in religion and morality now having become extinct. It was a mercy to the land that at this period the men in power were outwardly moral and religious, so that countenance was given to those who desired to repress wickedness.

Far greater activity was shown in commercial matters. This year another East India Company was formed, but eventually both were united. The new capital of two millions was subscribed in two days.

In August a treaty for the partition of the Spanish monarchy was concluded between England, France, and Holland. The death of the Spanish monarch being expected, the object was to prevent the future union of France and Spain under one sovereign. By this treaty the prince of Bavaria was declared heir to the Spanish throne; but he dying soon afterwards, another treaty was concluded in March, 1700,

declaring the archduke Charles presumptive heir. In these negotiations, the craft of the court of France prevailed.

The year 1698 closed with a resolution of parliament, that the standing army in Ireland should not exceed twelve thousand men, and in England, seven thousand; the latter being all natural-born subjects. This obliged the king to send his Dutch guards back to Holland. They were an important body of men, having many in their ranks who had been banished from the continent on account of their adherence to the Protestant religion. They were kept together by being taken into the pay of the United Provinces. William was justly displeased with the want of confidence and gratitude in the English. He even consulted his confidants as to giving up the crown, and retiring to the united states of Holland. His advance in life, with the harassing conflicts of party, and the opposition of the friends of the exiled monarch on the one hand, and of those who sought to limit all kingly power on the other, rendered his position by no means enviable or desirable. He passed the summer of 1699 in Holland as usual. The measure of reducing the army was urged forward by the partisans of James, who availed themselves of the popular feeling on the subject to forward their treacherous designs. Some even boasted that they would break the king's heart, and render him unable to take a part in foreign affairs.

In the close of the year, the bishop of St. David's was deprived for simony, having, it was alleged, paid for his preferment, and sold those in his gift. The king and the house of commons were not on good terms. He resented the sending away his guards; the commons, finding that half a million of acres of forfeited lands in Ireland had been granted to favourites of the crown, including the countess of Orkney, passed an act for resuming these grants, and applying them to public purposes. This act was

annexed to the bill granting supplies for the public service of the year, so that the one should not pass without the other : a process called tacking, by no means a fair proceeding. The lords resisted this measure ; but gave way at the instance of the king, who found compliance necessary ; he also yielded to severe laws against Papists, which placed him in a difficulty. By passing them, a large number of his subjects were unduly oppressed and exasperated ; while, if he had refused, he would have increased his general unpopularity. In May, lord Shrewsbury, the last of the whig ministers, resigned. In August died the duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the princess Anne, which apparently closed the Protestant succession of the Stuarts. On November 1st, died the king of Spain. He was displeased with arrangements made during his life to divide his kingdoms, and at the instigation of papal emissaries who threatened him with sufferings after death, he declared Philip of Anjou, second son of the dauphin of France, to be his successor ; but in case that prince should succeed to the throne of France, the crown of Spain was to pass to his younger brother. Louis had been concerned in this arrangement, though under treaty with England and Holland to the contrary. His grandson Philip was immediately proclaimed king of Spain, signing a renunciation of the throne of France. This led to the war of the succession, a contest of great moment to the affairs of Europe ; for the injurious results to be expected from the whole power of Spain, which at that time possessed the Netherlands, being subjected to French influence, were at once manifest.

A new parliament met early in 1701 ; the tory interest prevailed, but a resolution was passed to support the king, in measures for the safety of the Protestant religion and the peace of Europe.

The death of the duke of Gloucester rendered necessary an act for the settlement of the succession

to the English crown. This was brought forward in March, 1701. Among other matters it provided that succeeding kings should be of the established Protestant church; that future monarchs should not go out of England without the consent of parliament; that the judges should not be removable without cause; that after the deaths of king William and the princess Anne the succession to the crown should be limited to the princess Sophia of Hanover, and her descendants. Thus all the posterity of Charles I. were excluded. The princess Sophia was in direct descent from James I. by his daughter Elizabeth, the electress Palatine, who was her mother. About forty persons, also descendants of James I., were then living, but they were all Romanists, and no reference was made to any of them. The importance of this act of settlement is well stated in the following remarks from Soames's edition of Mosheim's Church History. "The act of settlement was therefore a political arrangement of the highest importance to the religious world. It secured from the pestilent operations of a Romish confessional a throne which was rising in power throughout the eighteenth century, and which has now no equal in Europe, except France and Russia. Had not allegiance to the British sovereign been made conditional, the temptation to matrimonial connexions with the principal royal houses abroad, might have again introduced artful Jesuits, with all the seductive blandishments of paganized Christianity, so germane to the corrupt nature of man, into the families of our sovereigns. But, by guarding effectually against any such contingency, the Bill of Rights and the Act of Settlement have opposed a solid bulwark to the range of Romish sophistry and ambition."

The house of commons declared against the partition treaty, but the voice of the nation was in favour of a war with France, which showed that the whigs were regaining popularity. A petition from





the grand jury and leading persons in Kent to the house of commons, urged them to lay aside the proceedings that embarrassed the government, and to vote supplies to enable the king to assist his allies. The commons ordered those who presented this petition to be imprisoned. A dispute also rose between the houses of lords and commons relative to an impeachment of lord Somers and other peers; the latter, chiefly for the part he had taken in the partition treaty; the result was that the impeachments were not prosecuted. Funds were provided for raising a fleet, and ten thousand soldiers for foreign service. An engraving given on the opposite page represents one of the largest ships of war of that period.

Warfare begun in the summer with the invasion of the Spanish territories in Italy by an Austrian army; and on the death of James II., on September 16th, Louis caused his son to be proclaimed king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under the title of James III.; but he was generally addressed as the Chevalier de St. George. Upon this William directed the English ambassador to leave Paris, and ordered the French envoy to quit London. A "grand alliance," as it was called, was formed between England, Holland, and the emperor of Germany.

A new parliament began their proceedings in January, 1702, in which the whigs had a small majority. The king called upon them to oppose the ambitious and perfidious designs of France. A whig administration was formed, forty thousand land forces were ordered to be raised to join the allied army. In his opening speech, the king urged unanimity, and the laying aside of party feelings, which divided and weakened the country. The treaties of alliance were laid before parliament, large supplies were granted. It was evident that the war must be chiefly carried on at the cost of England; but the general welfare of Europe was the great

object of William, while Louis was opposed to all that is good and beneficial to mankind.

The reign of William was now brought to a close. During the winter he had been very unwell. On February 21st, he broke his collar-bone by a fall from his horse. The shock proved fatal to his enfeebled constitution. He died on March 8th, 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. He was aware of his state, and expired with calmness.

Much need not be said respecting king William. The direct contrast between his character and proceedings and those of Charles II. and James II. is apparent to the most casual observer. His superiority in every respect must be admitted by all not absolutely blinded to the truth. His reign exhibits the effects of God-fearing principles, compared with those of princes who showed that they neither feared God nor regarded man. Although a large portion of the nation was deeply imbued with infidel principles, and even the king, and those who professed religion, evidenced little spirituality or holiness in their life and conversation, yet the result proved the truth of the declaration of Holy Scripture, that those who honour God shall be honoured of him. That truth is plainly marked on the pages of history.

William was cold and cautious in his transactions. This fitted him the more for the times and circumstances in which he lived and reigned, though it did not please the multitude, who are apt rather to be guided by the manners of their rulers than their real worth; but if the line of English kings from Alfred to the present day is referred to, William has but justice done to him when he is placed among the small number who really can be spoken of as "benefactors," Luke xxii. 25. He was a constitutional monarch; one who considered his engagements to his subjects, and did not think that his will was to be the law on all occasions; so that the advantages

resulting from his rule did much to decide all ranks against the claims and maxims of arbitrary prerogative. The growing prosperity of the commercial part of the community, also did much to counterbalance the designs and principles of those who opposed the civil and religious welfare of the people. But one chief glory of this reign is the toleration act; when how little really was conceded by that law is ascertained, and yet how beneficial was the result, it is impossible not to be impressed with a deeper sense of the wrongs inflicted by the system which it relaxed. It also has been the more beneficial from the liberal way in which it has been interpreted and administered by subsequent rulers, showing the advancement and improvement of the times in what must be regarded a really Christian spirit.

The close of the seventeenth century exhibited England rapidly advancing in prosperity, from commerce. Trade and the maritime strength of England were much promoted by the extension of the British colonies, and the trade with the East Indies. In the latter, the East India Company, after several vicissitudes, were allowed, in 1696, to erect a fort near the entrance to the Ganges, in compliment to the monarch named Fort William. This has since expanded to the vast city of Calcutta.

In the West Indies a system of predatory violence prevailed. The pirates or buccaneers made prizes of all vessels, and were suffered to sell their plunder and spend the produce in revelry at Port Royal, in Jamaica. The place was a sink of iniquity, and at the height of its wickedness when it was destroyed by an earthquake in June, 1692, in which several thousand persons perished. Towards the end of William's reign this system of piracy abated, but the slave-trade increased, and the West Indian isles were full of violence and abominations. On the continent of America a better state of things prevailed. The accession of William and Mary stopped the arbitrary

proceedings of the government under James II, after which the colonies in general were in peace and prosperity. In the northern colonies, however, an unhappy spirit prevailed; an unaccountable dread of witches and witchcraft became universal. This was partly from ignorant delusion; partly from a fierce spirit of persecution. Many were condemned and executed on ridiculous evidence. Such was the popular violence on the subject, that no one was secure; but after fifteen months of this folly and crime, the deplorable delusion passed away. The jurors and magistrates in 1693 confessed and lamented their error, but it was not till after many unhappy persons had been put to death.

England on the whole made a very considerable onward progress during this reign, especially by the recognition of right principles, and the repressing of civil and ecclesiastical despotism. But these benefits were not obtained without a severe struggle and at a heavy cost; a national debt of sixteen millions of pounds was incurred, but this was a trifle compared with the benefits obtained as to the liberties of England, with their important bearings on those of Europe. It will be found that truth and error, freedom and tyranny, ever are advancing or receding, with a general effect and bearing upon the whole of the nations—one cannot suffer without the others also being affected thereby. Had England been compelled to succumb to the despotism of the Stuarts, France would have prevailed over the rest of Europe.



## ANNE.

REIGNED TWELVE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS.

*From the 8th of March, 1702, to the 1st of August, 1714.*

## PART I.

THE accession of queen Anne removed several points of difficulty, and gave satisfaction to many. Her father, James II., was dead. Some of his supporters doubted whether the Pretender was in reality his son ; at any rate no oath of allegiance to him had been taken, and Anne was next in succession to the crown. Even those who believed in the legitimacy of his birth, considered that Anne was not likely to leave children, and that she would probably make his succession easier. All those who opposed James, and the Pretender after him, admitted Anne's title to the throne, as a Protestant. The death of William caused rejoicings at Paris and Rome, from the idea that the great stay of the Protestant cause was removed ; but that cause had a Supporter far above any earthly monarch.

Anne was thirty-seven years of age when she came to the throne, good tempered, and popular in her manners, but weak minded and easily led. At that time and long afterwards, she was enslaved by lady Marlborough. By a recent act, the parliament continued sitting ; the queen took the earliest opportunity, three days after her accession, on March 11th, 1702, of declaring her intention to pursue the same policy as king William, of whom she spoke as " the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." This was under the influence of the duke



alliance with England.

The queen formed her ministry chiefly among the office-bearers were Rochester, Nottingham, and Godolphin. Her husband George of Denmark, was made high admiral; he was strongly prejudiced against the whigs, but he did not care with which party he was allied; that he had the power; he supported the party which he expected to gain wealth and honor. Rochester cared not for the war; but if it was necessary, he desired naval rather than military success, and pressed violent measures at home which were found impracticable. This ended in his retirement; the high-church party regarding him as a martyr to their cause, which was supported by a majority of the parliament.

The queen was crowned on April 23rd and proclaimed on May 4th; a few days afterwards the king went to Holland, to take the oath of allegiance. The leading events of the reign were the two rebellions; under that general; only cursory notices can here be given. The details of warfare are really the main objects of history; while

policy, perceives that God causes them all to work together for good, or even the best efforts would only lead to miserable results ; he also sees that the same all-controlling power can and does bring order from disorder.

The first campaign was successful ; by the end of October, Liege was taken, and the Dutch frontier secured from the French, when the army retired to winter quarters, then the usual practice on both sides for four or five months. Marlborough, on his way to Holland, down the Meuse, was stopped by a party of French soldiers ; but plunder being their object, he was not recognised, and they allowed the boat to proceed. On his return to England he was made a duke, with a pension of 5000*l.* ; the money allowance was, however, suspended for a time. The progress of these campaigns in the Netherlands was very slow ; the country on both frontiers being thickly studded with fortified towns ; the whole district was crossed by innumerable rivers or water-courses, the passages of which were closed by these walled and well-secured towns, on which all the skill of the most celebrated engineers had been exerted. This campaign only gave to the allies about 100 miles from Nimeguen, where their efforts began.

During the summer, an armament under the duke of Ormond and admiral Rooke, failed in an attempt upon Cadiz, but captured and destroyed a rich fleet of Spanish galleons at Vigo.

In October a new parliament assembled : the tories had a decided majority. Matters proceeded with a high hand ; in the address to the queen, reflections were cast on the memory of William, stating that Marlborough had signally retrieved the glory of the English nation. A bill was brought in, called, "An Act to prevent occasional conformity," professing to prevent indecision in religion, but really designed to destroy the act of toleration, by forbidding all in office to attend any places of



religious worship excepting those of the established church. This was designed to shut out dissenters from office, who had occasionally attended the parish churches to receive the sacrament, that being required to qualify for holding office ; but however objectionable such a misuse of the Lord's supper, surely those were to be blamed who required such a qualification, rather than the persons who might find themselves able to meet what was thus required, although they generally preferred to worship according to the rites and ceremonies they deemed more scriptural. The lords objected to the rigorous fines and impositions proposed, but the commons refused to allow the alterations desired. After three divisions, in each of which the majority was only one vote, and that each time a different person, this iniquitous measure was rejected by the peers. To the credit of the bishops, most of them opposed the bill, though on different grounds. Burnet in particular took an active part for toleration. He states that on this occasion he related the many practices of the Papists of setting the church against the dissenters, and the dissenters against the church by turns, as it might serve their ends ; and said, that " a man might lawfully communicate with a church which he thought had a worship and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a church which he deemed more perfect." Marlborough supported the bill ; but the ministers not exerting their influence to serve his private views so fully as he expected, he began to incline to the whigs. The Tories obtained another year's indulgence for the Jacobites, or partisans of the Pretender, who had not yet taken the oath of abjuration. The terms whig and tory were used in all political matters ; those of high and low church were introduced into ecclesiastical disputes.

In the convocation the clergy differed among themselves ; the appellations of high-church and low

church were commonly applied ; the latter appellation being given to all who desired toleration and union among the Protestant churches, and opposed the views of Popery. The queen favoured the high church, and an office was inserted in the liturgy, to be used when the queen touched for the scrofula, or king's evil ; a nonsensical superstition laid aside in the preceding reign. As each person when touched received a small gold coin, enough were found ready to keep up the delusion. Among those touched in this reign was Dr. Johnson, then a child, sent by the advice of a physician of Lichfield, who probably was not unwilling to part with a profitless, incurable patient.

The war became general in 1703 ; the persecutions of Louis increased his troubles ; the oppressed Protestants of the Cevennes, a district in the south of France, rose in their own defence, which obliged Louis to keep part of his army at home, instead of using his full strength in Germany against the Austrians. The French army, however, was successful there, while the allies did little in Flanders. A fleet was sent to encounter the French in the West Indies. Admiral Benbow was not well seconded by his captains, and died of a mortal wound, but not till two of the commanders had been found guilty of cowardice and disobedience of orders. They were shot on their arrival at Portsmouth.

The close of the year 1703 was marked by an awful storm. On November 27th, early in the morning, began a hurricane from the south-west, which blew down many houses and churches, and damaged others to a vast extent. The damage in London alone was estimated at a million ; throughout the kingdom the amount was several times that sum. Many vessels were lost, including some ships of the royal navy. Bishop Kidder and his wife were killed in bed, in the palace at Wells, by the fall of a pile of chimneys.

Towards the end of the year 1703, the archduke Charles visited England on his way to Spain, where he was proclaimed king. The parliament assembled in November, and promised to support the queen in her alliances. An attempt was made to pass another bill for occasional conformity; but though less stringent than the former, it was thrown out by a considerable majority of the lords.

The queen's authority had been fully recognised in Scotland, but there was a conspiracy in favour of the Pretender, supported by the French king. Fraser of Lovat was the chief actor; he played a double part, and the design came to nothing. The debates in parliament concerning it, led to an address from the lords to the queen, engaging to promote the union of the two kingdoms. Proceedings towards effecting this desirable object were begun early in this reign; it was in effect hastened by a resolution of the Scottish parliament, called the act of security, proposing to give their crown, after the queen's decease, to a different monarch from the one succeeding in England, unless some matters were settled to meet their national interests and prejudices. These had been far too little regarded by the English parliament, so that a very ill feeling between the countries existed. Godolphin saw the necessity for a union, while every proceeding rendered such a measure the more difficult. He advised the queen to consent to the act of security, both to pacify the Scots and to give them more power with the English.

The queen, early in 1704, gave up the first-fruits and tenths, being small amounts paid by the clergy, to increase the smaller livings. The whole sum was only about 16,000*l.* per annum; it had never been paid to the treasury, but was granted to persons in favour. In the reign of Charles II. it had been chiefly assigned to the royal mistresses and their children; it was considered discreditable to the leading clergy that they had not, at any former time, sought to

have this sum better applied, so that the queen's proposal was generally approved.

The earl of Nottingham, finding his violent measures fail, resigned. He was succeeded, as secretary of state, by Harley, afterwards earl of Oxford. A law passed which would now be considered very oppressive, empowering justices of peace to cause any idle persons, not having regular callings, to be taken up and pressed for soldiers; an arbitrary power, which unjust magistrates might easily abuse.

Marlborough left London for the army in April, 1704. Having a large increase of English forces, he privately determined to carry on the war upon the Danube, in unison with prince Eugene, so as to make a vigorous effort against the main French army, which had been joined by the elector of Bavaria, and was to act directly upon Austria. He kept the full extent of his design secret, till, at the end of June, by very long and severe marches, he concentrated a large army close upon the Danube, where the allies had the advantage under many difficulties. After some severe actions, a great battle was fought at Blenheim, on August 13th. A complete victory was gained by the allies, after a hard-fought contest, in which the French and Bavarian army had 35,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners; Tallard, the French general, being amongst the latter. The loss of the victors was not less than 12,000. The bodies of 14,000 human beings stretched upon the field of battle, were so many victims sacrificed to the grasping ambition of Louis, and his desire for vain glory. The German empire was saved by this victory. Had the result been in favour of the French, Europe would probably have been placed at the will of Louis XIV., and the Protestant powers would have been crushed; but God was pleased in his providence to say to the Gallic potentate, "Here shall thy proud waves be stayed." All was consternation at the court of France. No one dared to inform Louis of the

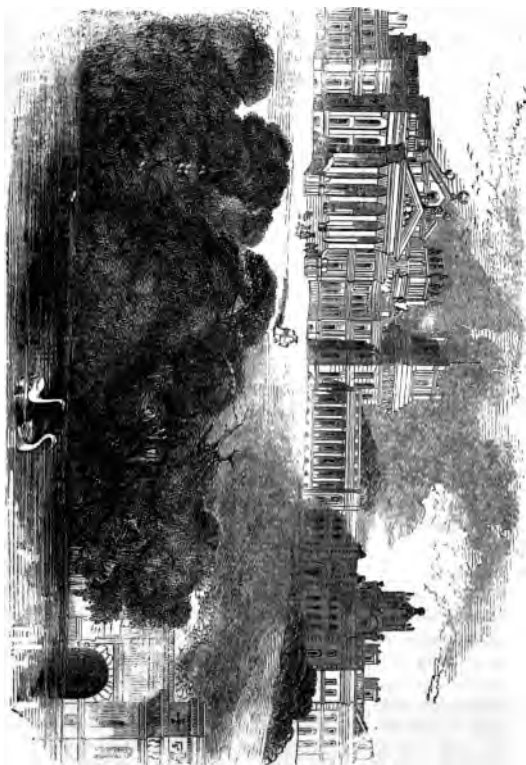
humiliating truth, till madame de Maintenon ventured to tell him, "that he was no longer invincible."

To the ability and courage of Marlborough, who fought personally in the battle, the credit for the important plan of operations which preceded this action is due. The elector of Bavaria fled to Brussels, abandoning his country to the allies; while the main design of the French was wholly relinquished. Honours of every sort were heaped upon Marlborough. The manor of Woodstock was granted him by the crown, with orders to build a palace at the national expense. Blenheim is the result.

The remark of the pious Blackader, an officer in this battle, deserves serious attention. "This victory has cost a great deal of blood, especially to the English. I was always of opinion that the English would pay for it in this country; and when I consider that on all occasions we conquer, but with much blood, I am at a loss to assign the reason; perhaps it is that our cause is good, but our persons very wicked." He thus wrote from the field to a person of rank in Scotland: "I am just now returned from the noise of drums, oaths, and dying groans. I am to return in a few minutes to the field of battle, and wrapping myself up in the arms of Omnipotence, I believe myself no less safe, as to every valuable purpose, than if sitting in your ladyship's closet."

The archduke Charles had been conveyed to Portugal early in 1704, when a small army was prepared to invade Spain under the earl of Galway. In July, admiral Rooke, after some fruitless attempts at Barcelona and elsewhere, carried Gibraltar by a sudden attack; a conquest, the value of which was not sufficiently appreciated at the time. It was followed by a sea-fight off Malaga, the result of which was not decisive.

The proceedings in parliament were accompanied by much party feeling. The occasional conformity bill was again rejected by the lords; archbishop



Tennison declaring his decided disapproval of the measure. He said, "We have already gone farther in excluding dissenters than any country has done;" and met the assertions of the supporters of the measure by saying, that the reasons to suppose religion in danger from the Papists, when the test act was passed, could not be considered as applicable to dissenters. That powerful writer, De Foe, came forward boldly, declaring, "Our eyes are at last opened; the name of Protestant is now the common title of an Englishman; the Church of England extends her protection to the tender consciences of her weaker brethren, knowing that all may be Christians, though not alike informed; and the dissenter extends his charity to the Church of England, believing that in his due time God shall reveal even this unto them. If this is not, I wish this were, the temper of both parties, and I am sure it is already the temper of some of each side, which few are of the wisest, most pious, and most judicious. But while frailty and infirmity are essential to humanity, and pride and hypocrisy are the two regnant vices of the church, this good spirit cannot be universal, and we do not expect it."

While the lords acted thus wisely on one subject, they needed restraint from the house of commons in the proceedings they urged against Scotland; the general feeling was such, that all prudent men saw the necessity for a union, before the differences were exasperated to an open breach, by the selfish feelings manifested on both sides of the Tweed. The session was closed by a dissolution in April, whereby a high tory house of commons was superseded. The whigs had now the vantage ground. The dissolution was also rendered necessary by the house of commons ordering some lawyers to be arrested in the court of King's Bench, for having been concerned in legal measures arising out of the interference of the courts of law with some proceedings at an election. The

chief justice, Holt, refused to allow such interference ; and the lords supported the court of law.

Marlborough expected to accomplish much in the campaign of 1705, but was disappointed by the perverse proceedings of the other leaders among the allies. In Flanders the French had the advantage. The warfare in Spain was equally indecisive, except that the earl of Peterborough, by a bold and most romantic effort, took Barcelona.

When the parliament met as usual in October, the whigs had the majority, and the queen, though unwillingly, had given the ministry to them. She declared her intention to continue the war till the French prince was driven from Spain, and spoke of the balance of power, adding, very truly, " We have learned by our own experience, that no peace with France will last longer than the first opportunity of their dividing the allies, and attacking some of them with advantage." The experience of after years has still more fully confirmed this ; happily, for the peace of Europe, the results of the French revolution deeply impressed this truth upon the ruling powers of the continent.

The queen also alluded to the party contests at home, declaring her resolution inviolably to maintain toleration. This speech is attributed to the new lord chancellor Cowper, a decided approver of the revolution. The policy of the Tories, then in opposition, was chiefly to excite distrust of the allies, and to represent the Dutch as enriching themselves at the expense of England. For these representations there were some grounds, but they also urged the residence of the Electress Sophia in England, with arguments which incensed the queen against them. Their opponents availed themselves of the mistake, a bill was passed, settling a regency of the principal officers of state, whenever the queen's demise should take place. A closer union between the Hanoverian court and the whigs was the result.



Ecclesiastical matters next engrossed attention. The high churchmen represented that the church was in danger, while bishops Hough and Patrick censured the universities for misleading their students; teaching them undue monarchical notions, yet making them insolent opposers of the bishops. The whole was evidently a party affair. Lord Wharton did not hesitate to say that the only fact was, that the tory leaders, Buckingham, Rochester, and Nottingham, were out of place. The majority in both houses was against the high church party. The debates in convocation during the early part of this reign were violent, but they were restrained by adjournments and prorogations.

The campaign of 1706 was distinguished by the battle of Ramillies, on May 23rd. This was a decisive victory to the allies. The French retired in the greatest disorder; the soldiers flung away their arms, which were scattered over the country. The result was the loss of the whole of the Spanish Netherlands to France, Marlborough occupying Brussels and Ostend in October. In the battle he had a narrow escape for his life; he was nearly taken prisoner by his horse falling under him, and while remounting, a cannon ball killed the officer who held his stirrup. Blackader was in this rapid progress. He says, "In this surprising turn of affairs there is much of the hand of God to be seen; indeed, we are all like men in a dream, to see ourselves so suddenly possessed of so many places. I hope there are greater things to be done yet. The Lord make us thankful; and grant that his mercies may reform us!" In Spain matters were mismanaged, owing to personal jealousies. The archduke took possession of Madrid, but soon had to leave it; his cause was not popular with the native Spaniards, while the apathy of his supporters and himself was most injurious to his interests.

The losses of Louis this year induced him to pro-

pose terms of pacification. He was willing that the Spanish European dominions, excepting Spain itself, should be divided; but the insincerity he had always shown, and the desire for conquest excited in the allies, prevented attention to his proposals, though the war was carried on at an expense considerably exceeding the estimates, and greatly burdensome to England.

Our sinful land, though in mercy spared from the dreadful evil of being the field of contest, was not to escape without some suffering; but it was light indeed compared with that of the countries which were the seat of war.

A most important event distinguished the year 1706. This was the union between England and Scotland, by which the natural-born subjects of each kingdom were put upon a common footing, so that they no longer had different and opposing interests. The whigs were strenuous for the measure, but many persons in both kingdoms used every exertion to oppose it, looking only at the interest of the moment, and being influenced by paltry and selfish considerations. It was become absolutely necessary; for evil-designing men had brought matters into such a state, that unless this great measure had been carried during the life-time of the queen, the most disastrous consequences, probably a division and separation of the kingdoms, must have followed. The frivolous and contradictory assertions of those who opposed the measure exceed belief, and when the important benefits which it was plain must ultimately accrue to both countries are considered, it is difficult to conceive that even selfishness and party spirit could lead men to the lengths they proceeded. But such was the case.

The nomination of commissioners for adjusting the articles of union was referred to the queen; care was taken to select a majority favourable to the measure, but they were chosen fairly, and some



EDINBURGH CASTLE, FROM THE GREY FRIARS  
CHURCHYARD.

were included who were known to be decided supporters of Scottish interests. Sixteen peers of Scotland were to have seats in the house of lords, elected by their own body at the commencement of every new parliament. Forty-five members were added to the house of commons, thus forming a twelfth part of the legislative assembly, but only a fortieth part of the land-tax was to be paid by North Britain. Half a million was to be paid to Scotland to compensate for the share of the national debt to which it became liable. This was to be expended in improving the coinage, compensating the losers by the Darien project, and other matters of national interest. Each nation was to retain its established church, all private and local rights and privileges were to be maintained, while all national pursuits and advantages were to be equally open to the people of both countries. Considerable sums were paid to individuals to secure their concurrence in this important measure, including some who took an active part in the treaty. As usual in public proceedings, the men who most promoted the general welfare were for a time the most unpopular. The Scottish national feelings were strongly excited; but when it is stated that the Cameronians and Jacobites, at one time, were united against the measure, it sufficiently proves that great errors prevailed. The duke of Hamilton, though the principal opponent of the union, saw the folly of the opposition, and endeavoured to quiet the most violent of his partisans, who more than once had planned to have recourse to arms. The national feelings were respected by leaving the regalia in Edinburgh castle.

The opposition party in the English parliament, as a matter of course, opposed the union with Scotland, endeavouring especially to excite a feeling against the agreement for maintaining the Presbyterian church establishment in Scotland. The act for the union however was passed, and received the

royal assent on March 6th, 1707, when the queen, with truth, spoke of the union "as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island," adding that she had no doubt "it will be remembered and spoken of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to a happy conclusion." In their addresses, in reply, both lords and commons spoke of it as "a work that seemed designed by Providence to add new lustre to the glories of her majesty's reign." It did so; in its consequences it was far more splendid than the battle of Blenheim, and all the sanguinary triumphs of the English arms. The university of Oxford was one of the few public bodies from which congratulatory addresses were not sent; but every Briton of the present day must be thankful for this event. It is true, that both the advocates and resisters of the union acted under wrong principles, and used wrong means, whereby the national feelings, on both sides, were deeply exasperated, so that many years passed without the benefits mutually secured by this measure being felt; but God does thus continually bring blessings to pass, undeserved and unsought, or even opposed by human ingratitude. Among other advantages, ultimately resulting to Scotland from the union, was, the reclaiming a large portion of the population of the highland districts from a state of semi-barbarism, which, however skilfully glossed over by the poet and novelist, was one which the Christian, and even the philanthropist, must consider had called for strenuous efforts to ameliorate. The union took place from May the 1st, 1707, which day was observed as a day of thanksgiving; the queen going in state to St. Paul's, to attend divine service. It is a matter truly deserving of grateful commemoration, both in England and in Scotland.

## A N N E.

## PART II.

FROM A.D. 1707, TO A.D. 1714.

THE queen still urged active warfare ; little was said of the terms for peace proffered by Louis. The idea of conquering France, rather than of keeping that country within due bounds, seemed to prevail. The concessions offered by Louis certainly ought not to have been rejected, though there might be reason to doubt his sincerity. But then, as at other times the leaders had a personal interest in carrying on the war. They pleaded that France was not yet brought low enough to ensure peace to Europe. In 1707, Marlborough was quite as busily occupied with negotiations as in arms ; these included some intercourse with the king of Sweden, Charles XII., who had appeared likely to assist France, but was persuaded by the English duke to refrain from hostilities against the allies.

Spain was not sufficiently attended to. A battle at Almanza, on April 24th, was decisive in favour of the French party ; from that time the ultimate triumph of Philip was secured, but the Austrians succeeded in conquering Naples, thus separating that kingdom from Spain. An attempt of the English upon Toulon failed, while an army which entered the south of France, under prince Eugene and the duke of Savoy, caused Louis to weaken his forces in Flanders ; but though the French retired before the allies, no material advantage was gained. At sea, the plundering squadrons and cruisers of France caused considerable injury to the English. This

was increased by the loss of Sir Cloudesley with three first-rate ships of war, on the 1 Scilly, in October, owing to a mistake as course.

At home, the immediate result of the un much discontent in Scotland, where the part the Pretender were active, expecting effici from France. They had promised largely w would do; Louis xiv. was very glad to en them, but was not able to render much as while various interests were at work that in with these designs for a civil war. Money forthcoming. Louis was too old, the Preter young, for vigorous measures, so the opportur suffered to pass.

The two houses began their sittings as t parliament of Great Britain, in October, 1707. was much discord and party debate. The f privy council, which had caused many evils, v lished, after convincing arguments from lord Considerable dissatisfaction was expressed proceedings of the war, and more vigorous m were urged.

Great changes now took place; the duc Marlborough having wearied the queen by h lence and overbearing conduct, the weak-mind narch secretly adopted Mrs. Masham as her ite, a poor cousin of the duchess, for whom s obtained a situation in the royal bedchamber. ley and Bolingbroke, two of the ministers, bu clined to the whigs, and disposed to supp exiled family, secured the new favourite to tl terests; she worked upon the queen to desir liberated from the influence under which sh was placed. This discovery led to a quarrel, Mrs. Masham openly set her cousin at de But the mere female dispute was not all; the affair was, that Harley and his associate were mining the power of Marlborough and Godolph


that the whole whig party was in danger. Harley and his supporters next excited the queen's religious apprehensions, and all preferment was given to the high church divines. Marlborough hesitated, he would have taken new ground at court, but it was not practicable. His wife had been too long accustomed to despise and govern the queen; but the natural obstinacy, frequently displayed by weak characters, brought matters to a crisis. For a short time, the progress of Harley was hindered by the detection of Gregg, a clerk in his office, in treasonable correspondence with France, for which he was executed. Attempts were made without success, to implicate Harley; at any rate, he had been culpably careless of state documents and secret papers. Marlborough and Godolphin refused to act with him; the duke of Somerset aiding them, Harley was dismissed. Bolingbroke, also, was turned out, and Robert Walpole put in his place; but the discarded ministers only retired for a time, they still kept their hold upon the queen, through Mrs. Masham.

An invasion from France was expected, upon which the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The duke of Hamilton and others were arrested. The expedition was detained some time by the illness of the Pretender, and afterwards by contrary winds, but it sailed from Dunkirk in March, 1708. On reaching the Firth of Forth, finding himself closely followed by a strong naval force under Byng, the French admiral evaded an action, and refused to land the Pretender. The attempt being relinquished, the fleet returned with the loss of one ship. The chief loss was by sickness, the French troops having been a month at sea. The court of France was not anxious for the success of this effort. It was a critical moment, for there were no adequate preparations for resistance on shore, while the Jacobites were organized in considerable force; had the Pretender landed, the danger to the Protestant interest would have been greater than



from the subsequent attempts of the years 1745. Burnet remarks upon the defeat of sign, as one of those happy providences, for of which we have to answer as a nation. He called to account for their readiness to aid the nation; the leading statesmen were too deeply concerned in correspondence with the exiled family to meet the disclosures prosecutions would have brought out. The queen seems by this attempt to have her attention drawn more to the real danger to the nation from the partisans of her family. Burnet remarks, that she now, in her speech to parliament mentioned the revolution, notice of which she had been studiously avoided. She also spoke of her brother as "the Pretender."

While this attempt upon Scotland was in progress Ireland happily was neglected by the French government. A Dominican, named O'Connor, went there soon afterwards; he found the leading Papists well disposed to support the Pretender, they had been disarmed, and were too much spiritless to attempt any thing without more succour than could be then given. O'Connor, having visited many places in disguise, came back; there he had secret interviews with the English lords actually imprisoned in the Tower encouraged another attempt, but the requisites for men and money were too considerable for to meet under the existing difficulties of the armies. It was a providential interposition for the peace of England that the Pretender did not for it would at once have stopped that paper which supplied the expense of the resistance in Louis; and the division of parties was very great. The emissary represented "the Presbyterians are for the prince of Hanover, but that the great body of the Episcopalians are for the king, out of opposition to their antagonists, who are, at present the ruling party." This may have been an exaggeration.



but subsequent events showed that Anne and her favourites desired to restore the Popish branch of her family.

The campaign of 1708 in the Netherlands was fought with various results; the French again had a numerous army; at first they were successful, but in July they were completely defeated at Oudenarde, in which battle were present both the Pretender, the son of James II., and the prince of Hanover, afterwards George I. The latter acted with courage, the behaviour of the former was more than doubtful. Blackader graphically says, "We laid all night upon the field of battle, where the bed of honour was both hard and cold; but we passed the night as well as the groans of dying men would allow us, being thankful for our own preservation." The campaign closed in October, with the taking of Lisle by the allies, though not without a heavy sacrifice of life. It may truly be called a needless sacrifice, for Louis had been so far reduced, that favourable terms of peace might have been made with him. In Spain little was done, although the English fleet was successful in the Mediterranean. Minorca was taken, and admiral Leake threatened to bombard Civita Vecchia, the port of Rome: the pope saved that town by acknowledging the archduke Charles as king of Spain.

In October, the prince of Denmark died; he was of an easy disposition, and though husband to the queen, had not interfered with public affairs; he was, in fact, an insignificant character. The navy was ostensibly under him as lord high admiral, but he left much of the management to some who were very incompetent, many losses were the result.

During the summer and autumn, the intrigues at court went forward: the queen was influenced against her ministry, and came to an open quarrel with the duchess of Marlborough. The interests and destinies of Europe appeared at that time to be influenced, and mostly determined by the petty disputes of three

females, the queen, and her late and present favourites; the decisions as to most important measures turning on the veriest trifles of their personal broils. But human events are under higher control—they are guided by Him “that sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grasshoppers;” He “bringeth the princes to nothing;—he shall also blow upon them and they shall wither,” Isa. xl. 22—24. It is truly instructive *now* to discern the bitterness and selfishness which influenced the events, by which the world was *then* most dazzled.

A new parliament met in November, the whigs were prevalent; the queen was discontented with their measures. While appearing to the world to seek solitude on account of the loss of her husband, she attended to and encouraged secret measures for a change of ministry.

An important act, assimilating the proceedings in case of treason between the English and Scotch nations, and in some respects abating the severities of the law, was passed after considerable national and party opposition. But a very trifling passing circumstance stirred up animosities. Even the temporary refuge and slight help given to some refugees from the palatinate was so made use of. Some philanthropic persons exerted themselves, until the greater number of these victims of Popery and war were conveyed to North America, and provided for in the colonies.

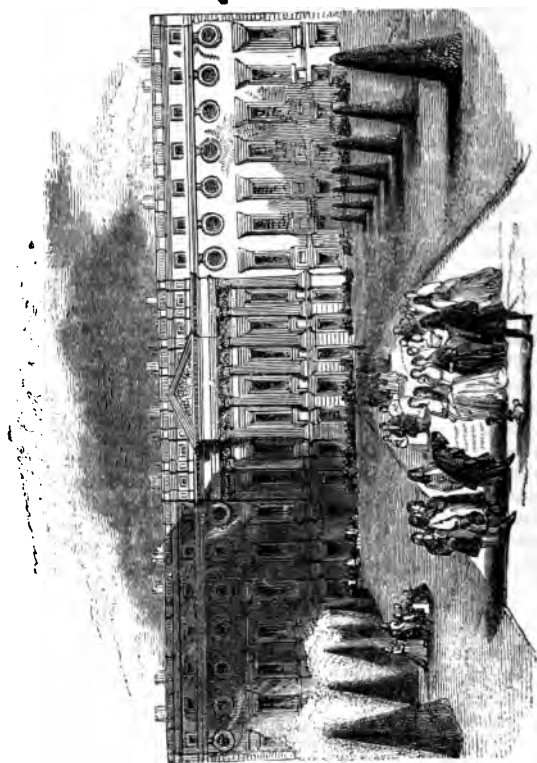
While in England the people were tormenting themselves with imaginary troubles, in France there was much real suffering. Dearth and disease were prevalent, the revenues had been anticipated, taxation was carried to the utmost; while the north-eastern frontier was open to the enemy, had the allies been united in their counsels, and disposed to support Marlborough. Louis was obliged to think of suing for peace. His secretary of state, Rouillé, was sent on a secret mission to the Hague, to open a

treaty. A large bribe was offered to Marlborough, if he would procure favourable terms, which was rejected. Louis now offered to give up Spain if Sicily and Sardinia might be retained by Philip ; this was a juggling proposal, to which Philip himself refused to agree ; on the other hand, the allies required the king of France not only to discontinue supporting his grandson, but to join in arms against him. Louis gained some time by his offers, and was able to excite his people to approve the continuance of the war, by representing the hardness of the terms offered.

Among other means for carrying on the war, money was raised by a lottery, an evil proceeding which was continued for a century, though manifestly most injurious to the nation at large, by the spirit of gambling it promoted, and though it was obvious that, upon the average, the adventurers must be very considerable losers.

The campaign began in June ; on September the 12th, the French were again defeated with much carnage at Malplaquet ; the forest of Ardennes covered their retreat. The confederates entered Mons in October, after which another attempt at negotiation was made, but again broken off, the French king refusing to join in dispossessing his grandson, Philip of Spain. The warfare there had been increasingly disastrous to the allies. The year 1709 closed with the meeting of parliament, and large votes of money for the war.

Another political storm now broke forth, when the popular madness was exemplified in a manner it is hard to realize. A Dr. Sacheverell attracted public notice in the autumn of 1709, by sermons, in which he railed in most scurrilous terms at the rulers of the state, abusing some of the bishops, for their approval of toleration, and unwillingness to persecute the dissenters. He proclaimed that the church was in danger, misapplying passages of Scripture which speak of the church of Christ, in order to support



HAMPTON COURT.

his own perversions. A sermon he preached before the Lord Mayor of London, on November 5th, was printed and extensively circulated by the opponents of the ministry.

In a moment of error, the council resolved to prosecute the preacher; and, against the wiser advice of lord Somers, who recommended proceedings in the usual course of law, resolved upon a parliamentary impeachment. This was exactly the course best suited to strengthen their opponents, by giving the paltry demagogue a consequence he would not otherwise have obtained. In December, his sermons at Derby and St. Paul's were voted malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, and he was taken into the custody of the house of commons. By various delays, arising chiefly from Marlborough, the impeachment was not brought before the house of lords till the end of February; meanwhile it was evident that Sacheverell had the countenance of many of the leading clergy, and even of the queen. She appeared quite to forget that her own right to govern must be denied by those who adopted the full views of his abettors. The mobs were stimulated to riotous proceedings; the cry of "the church is in danger," was repeated by the lowest and most profligate characters, and the whole affair was made use of against Marlborough, whom the queen dreaded as desiring to deprive her of her present favourite, Mrs. Masham. It was evident that persons of wealth and influence stimulated the popular feeling, and that Sacheverell and his cause were made use of for ulterior purposes.

The daily progress from his lodging in the Temple to Westminster Hall was a sort of triumph, attended by a hired mob, encouraged by the applause of persons of higher rank from their windows. On the second day, some meeting-houses were destroyed, and the episcopal chapel of St. John's, Clerkenwell, which was mistaken for one from its appearance.

Sacheverell was found guilty by a majority of the peers, (68 to 52,) but the sentence was virtually a triumph, being only suspension from preaching for three years, and his two sermons to be burned by the common hangman. His health was drunk at party orgies; his portrait was sold in all forms. Shortly afterwards he made a progress through England, feasted and honoured everywhere by the active of the tory faction and the high church clergy, the nobility of that party, and even by the university of Oxford. The design was evident; elections for a new parliament, as will be mentioned, were going forward: when they were over he was neglected. One of the concluding scenes was an attempt to harangue the directors of the Bank, but as might be expected, they ordered him to be turned out of the building.

Sacheverell's arrogance and ignorance disgusted all not concerned in making use of him; this fire-brand of sedition was quenched, but not till he had been useful as an active instrument for displacing the whigs, and bringing the tories again into power. The legal decision against him was, however, of moment in the history of England, without noticing the worse than contemptible case that called it forth; for it was a solemn avowal, by the highest court in the land, and against the popular outcry, that the revolution in 1688 was a case of resistance justified by necessity. This point was largely argued during the trial, and thus established after full discussion.

The duchess of Marlborough used every effort, both of intimidation and servility, to maintain herself and her party; but in vain. She was obliged to relinquish all her offices at court, which were divided between the duchess of Somerset and the new favourite, soon afterwards made lady Masham. Harley was made chancellor of the exchequer; after a vain attempt to form a coalition with the whigs, the parliament, as has been already mentioned, was

dissolved, and the elections were carried on with the usual violence. The earls of Rochester, Bolingbroke, Harcourt, and other tories, formed the new ministry.

In Flanders, the campaign of 1710 was comparatively inactive. In Spain, after again occupying Madrid for a short time, Charles was forced to retire, and in December, Stanhope was obliged to surrender with the British troops.

In November, the new parliament met, when Bromley, the chief promoter of the bills against occasional conformity, was chosen speaker. The queen, in her address, spoke of allowing "indulgence" to scrupulous consciences, an ominous term when substituted for "toleration," but no further proceeding on this head was attempted. Fifty new churches were ordered to be built in the metropolis, for which the sum of 350,000*l.* was granted.

During this session, an act was passed to strengthen the landed interest, by requiring all members for counties to possess at least 600*l.* a-year from land; members for boroughs, half that sum. The qualification, however, was often evaded by temporary conveyances of estates being made, when required for electioneering purposes.

At this time Harley's popularity and power were increased by an attempt to assassinate him. He was stabbed at the council board, by Guiscard a Frenchman, who had been paid by the English government for secret services, but, like many others, played a double part, and also sent intelligence to France. A scuffle followed, Guiscard was mortally wounded and died in Newgate soon afterwards. The engaging to serve two parties was not confined to subordinate agents. Not long before, Harley himself had made secret propositions to the Pretender, that he should succeed Anne at her death, upon giving assurance to respect the Protestant religion and national liberties. But it is not easy to judge whether Harley meant more than to amuse the leaders of the



party for the exiled family, to gain their support. He was now created earl of Oxford, but his indolence and indecision gave great advantages to his immoral and treacherous colleague, Bolingbroke, who endeavoured to gain the chief power. One of Harley's financial measures was, to form the holders of some government securities for claims amounting to nine millions, into a company, with the exclusive privilege of trading to the South Seas, in addition to an interest of six per cent. on the capital due to them from government. The Tories charged the late Whig administration with having allowed debts of thirty millions to be incurred, without adverting to the fact, that part of those debts were of much longer standing, even as early as the reign of Charles II.

Marlborough still continued in the command of the army; but it was evident that the English ministry had resolved to have a peace; this emboldened the French court to look for more favourable terms than they had of late offered. Under every disadvantage the allied army was successful, but a treaty was determined on. The voice of the nation was for a peace; it is said that many were influenced by a paltry desire to obtain French wines more easily, while the popular feelings against the past proceedings were much stimulated by a violent pamphlet written by Swift, entitled, "The Conduct of the Allies," containing many misrepresentations. The death of the emperor Joseph, by which the archduke Charles succeeded to the empire, also materially changed the position of affairs in regard to Spain, for to annex those dominions to the empire would be as contrary to the balance of power, as to allow them to remain under French influence. Thus, as is often the case in warfare, the objects at first contended for became of less importance. But no consideration ought to be allowed to take our attention from the horrors of warfare. In reference to the contest now waging, it has been well said,—“Nor was it only

the soldiers opposed in deadly combat who were to be pitied. What crimes, what disease, what public and private misery, what wretchedness and desolation were spread through that once fertile and happy country, which had become the seat of war, where death and suffering, not in one, but in a thousand horrid forms, were loosed abroad ! The greater part of the Netherlands lay wasted by pestilence and famine. 'It is impossible,' writes the victorious general to his wife, 'to be sensible of the misery of this country without seeing it ; at least one-half of the people in the villages, since the beginning of last winter are dead, and the rest look as if they came out of their graves.' He says, in another place, 'The misery of these poor people is such, that one must be a brute not to pity them.' The account of the siege of Tournay, in 1709, where an appalling subterraneous war was carried on in the mines, is the most horrible that imagination can conceive. 'The miners frequently met and fought with each other in the dark ; sometimes the troops, mistaking friend for foe, killed their own comrades ; sometimes whole companies entered the mines when they were ready primed for explosion. Hundreds of men were stifled together, inundated with water, suffocated with smoke, or buried alive in the cavities, and left to perish by degrees—a death the thought shrinks from. On some occasions whole battalions were blown up into the air, and their limbs scattered to a distance, like lava from a volcano. It was more like a contest of fiends, carried on in an infernal labyrinth, than the combat of men and soldiers ; and let it be remembered, that this is only a passing, partial glimpse of a picture which, if it could be spread out before us at once, in all the strong colouring of reality, would appal the most unfeeling, and fill the tender-hearted with pity and horror."

Such are the realities of war ! After some secret intercourse with France, during which the French

diplomatists, as usual, showed more skill than their opponents, it was settled that a congress should meet on January 1st, 1712, at Utrecht. The English plenipotentiaries were lord Bolingbroke, and Robinson, bishop of Bristol. The latter had recently been appointed lord privy seal. This nomination of an ecclesiastic to an office of state was much censured, it reminded many of the days of Popery, when the chief offices of state were filled by ambitious ecclesiastics, who neglected their spiritual duties. Previously to this, Marlborough returned to England, but only to be insulted and neglected. The political writers among his opponents, especially Swift, were encouraged to attack him with much bitterness, accusing him of all sorts of malversations. An expedition against Canada failed, which gave the French further advantages. This expedition was a scheme of the new favourite; her brother, general Hill, was appointed to command: by his return without success he disgraced his employers.

At the opening of parliament, the language usual in the queen's speeches was changed. She spoke of the arts of those who delight in war, and expressed desire for peace. This change was a pleasing one, but the cause was too notorious to render it satisfactory. It is evident that a design to bring back the exiled family was the leading principle of those in power, and that the queen was not averse to it, although it was a measure that could not tend to real peace. Many party intrigues followed, that cannot be here detailed. The occasional conformity bill, a little modified, was passed; Marlborough was charged with peculation and misappropriation of money; it was plain that enormous perquisites had been allowed, and profited by; but the duke had not gone beyond what was considered customary; his dismissal on such a pretext was evidently a party affair. Finding the whigs had the majority in the house of lords, twelve new peers were created from persons of the

opposite views,—a stretch of the royal prerogative that caused much discussion and discontent. The parties before this had been nearly equal; the majority for the ministry, on the next debate, consisted of these new peers. The husband of Mrs. Masham was one of them; but the queen stipulated that she should continue her personal attendance, although raised to the peerage. Prince Eugene, the brother general of Marlborough, visited England early in 1712, sent by the emperor to urge the queen not to forsake the alliance; his visit was fruitless, though both the queen and the people treated him with much respect.

Unpleasant discussions arose with the Dutch; the allied army took the field, but the duke of Ormond, the new English general, had private orders from the secretary, Bolingbroke, not to engage in any battle or siege. This became the subject of debate in parliament. On July 17th, the English troops separated from the army. A truce was made, and Dunkirk was given up to the English by the French, who thus succeeded in breaking the alliance. Under these circumstances, highly disgraceful to England as a nation, the Dutch were forced to relinquish several matters to France, the interest of Louis being in effect sought by the English ministry, who made concessions on almost every point. Among other acts which exposed them justly to censure, was the abandoning the people of Catalonia to the vengeance of Philip of Spain, though the English government had excited them to take up arms in favour of Charles. Still the peaceful policy of the English ministry was in many respects defensible, and preferable to a protracted warfare. At this period, Louis received a blow in his family, that seemed to carry his losses to the utmost. Not only the dauphin, but his son, the duke of Burgundy, and the eldest child of that duke, died in 1712, leaving a sickly infant the only survivor in the succession to the throne. If this child

died, the king of Spain would be next heir, and even the English ministers saw the necessity for his being formally excluded from the crown of France; a concession Louis very unwillingly made, so as to silence objections on this head, though it was very evident that such a promise would be utterly disregarded, should the fulfilment of it ever be called for. But the anticipations of politicians were disappointed; the sickly babe survived, and reigned for sixty years as Louis xv., contributing his full share to the follies and crimes, which led to the French revolution not very long after his decease. The wars of queen Anne brought ruinous results to the power of France, from which it never recovered during the subsequent reigns of the Bourbons.

The duke of Marlborough withdrew to Brussels, after being much harassed by his political opponents and the death of earl Godolphin. Two lawsuits were begun against him: one, for sums deducted from money advanced for the army; the other, for money due to the builders of Blenheim House. The queen had directed this edifice to be erected, and had undertaken to defray all the expense; but the payments were stopped, and a claim set up against the duke, although he had not been a party to the contracts. His departure from England has also been attributed to Harley, who having obtained a letter written by Marlborough in king William's reign, betraying the secret of the Brest expedition, threatened him with discovery, unless he withdrew. It is indeed painful to find how thoroughly unprincipled and base the leading men of those times were: the evil principles sowed by Charles II. and his court had become abundantly fruitful. Even in this retirement Marlborough corresponded both with the Hanoverian family and the Stuarts. The conduct of the worldly minded and crafty duke in this matter, shows that he must have considered both parties nearly equal as to the probability of gaining the succession.

Bishop Burnet remarks, that, at this period, there was an inclination in many of the clergy to nearer approach towards the church of Rome. The non-jurors and others of the high church promoted the popish notion, that the Lord's supper was a sacrifice; and in other matters sought to lessen the aversion to Popery; urging also that the church was independent of the kingly power or state, and condemning the Reformation. One of them preached a sermon, asserting that no repentance was efficacious without priestly absolution, 'and that the priest had the same power of pardoning sin that our Saviour exercised! An attempt was made to invalidate dissenters' baptism. Others held that all who died without the sacraments were in a very unsafe state, left, as they phrased it, to the "uncovenanted mercies of God." This "strange and precarious system," Burnet says, "obtained great credit, and all not of the established church were represented as not Christians, but in a state of damnation." These notions have been repeatedly urged with many mischievous results; great indeed will be the evil, should they ever prevail. However muffled and concealed, they are "Popery."

The parliament did not meet till April, 1713, when the treaty of Utrecht was concluded. The return of peace, under any circumstances, is desired by the Christian, but it is obvious that the chief promoters only intended to facilitate their future designs against the welfare of the nation, and against the peace of the world at large. Still it was preferable to the continuance of war, though by the designed negligence of the ministry, the better terms which might have been obtained were not secured; thus Louis was left to pursue his iniquitous courses with more power than was justifiable. The main articles of the treaty were, that Louis recognised the Hanoverian succession, and agreed to exclude the Pretender from his dominions. That the crowns of France and Spain should not be united. That the fortifications

of Dunkirk should be demolished. Minorca and Gibraltar were to be retained by the English; Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Netherlands, were ceded to the emperor. An adjustment was made of territories in America, by conceding Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to England. The Dutch frontier was somewhat strengthened. It was obvious that the renunciations and concessions were merely matters of words, while, substantially, France was left much the same as before the war. The chief advantage gained was, that the powers and resources of France had been much weakened by the conflict, while those of England, with its national reputation, were strengthened. During the twelve years of this reign, the amount of 62,500,000*l.* was raised by taxes and other sources of revenue, and 60,000,000*l.* by loans. As the condition of the nation at the end of that period was more flourishing than at the commencement, property must have greatly increased.

A commercial treaty on the principles of reciprocity was also made with France, but the general advantage of such an arrangement was not understood; while much discontent was expressed by those whose immediate interests were affected. They prevailed, and the unpopularity of this measure operated against the ministry; the main treaty itself also was very soon disapproved. The Pretender removed only to Lorraine, which was in effect a part of France. An address was presented from the parliament to the queen, praying her to urge his further removal. She engaged to do so, but Bolingbroke secretly promoted his remaining there.

The violence of party feeling was seen in June, when an attempt was made to dissolve the union with Scotland. To their disgrace, the leading whigs, who had been the great promoters of this measure, now voted against it, that they might facilitate their own return to office. This foul attempt was defeated by a majority of four only. Had the union been done

away, new discords must have followed, whereby the interests of the whole island would have been materially injured. In August, the parliament was dissolved.

Some changes made in the ministry marked the growing power of Bolingbroke. The increasing influence of that immoral and unprincipled peer threatened more disasters to Britain. He had decided to bring back the Stuarts, while his colleague Harley was evasive, and shuffling in his proceedings. The emperor of Germany refused to be a party to the treaty of Utrecht, but, deserted by his allies, his army was unsuccessful, so that he was glad to make peace with Louis, on terms more favourable to the latter than had been offered not long before. Discontent and party spirit were unabated; the queen, whose health was failing, was affected thereby; the more so, as the two females, on whom her weak mind chiefly relied, were opposed to each other. The duchess of Somerset favoured the Hanoverian succession; Lady Masham, the Pretender. The latter secretly negotiated terms with Menager, a French diplomatist. It was agreed that, to save appearances, the queen should require the king of France to give up supporting her brother, but that this should not pledge Louis not to use his efforts for him after the death of Anne. She admitted his right to the throne, allowing that there was a general desire for the Hanoverian succession, though it was her aversion, and she looked to the king of France to support and assist the Pretender. This was going further than the ministry would venture to commit themselves, and Harley so acted as to amuse and disappoint all parties. In the winter of 1713, the queen was seriously ill, when a general alarm of attempts for the Pretender prevailed, but on her recovery these rumours passed away.

The new parliament met in February, 1714, when the queen spoke of her desire to strengthen the



Protestant succession. The press sent forth daily libels ; among other party effusions, one by Swift, called "The Party Spirit of the Whigs," was so offensive to the Scotch lords, that a prosecution was ordered, but it came to nothing. On the other hand, in the house of commons, the tories, by a large majority, expelled Steele, the well-known editor of the "Tatler" and "Spectator," because his writings represented the Protestant succession to be in danger. But there is no space here to describe all the crooked policy of both parties, especially of those who were favourable to the Pretender.

At the instigation of the whigs, the Hanoverian envoy applied for a writ to summon the electoral prince to parliament as duke of Cambridge. It could not be refused, but the queen made it a ground of quarrel against the envoy, and ordered him to leave England. Those in the Hanoverian interest urged that it was necessary for the prince to come over, while Harley used every effort to dissuade him, and sent the strongest assurances of the queen's being well inclined to him. But on the other hand, it appears that the Pretender was preparing to visit England. All these proceedings increased the queen's ill health : in May, letters were sent, privately urging the immediate arrival of prince George. The quarrel between Harley and Bolingbroke increased ; the former seemed more favourable to the Hanoverian succession. At the close of May, Anne wrote a very angry letter, objecting to the prince's coming over. The aged electress Sophia, then eighty-four years old, was much agitated by the communication, and died suddenly, two days after its arrival. The journey of the prince was then put off ; even in the Hanoverian court there seemed at that moment little hope of securing the succession to the English crown. She had expressed an anxious wish that she might be queen of England before her decease ; but this earthly desire was not gratified.

Meanwhile the partisans of the Pretender were active: it was proposed that he should go at once to England, and that the queen should introduce him to the parliament, to whom he was to give all the assurances they could require. But Harley would not encourage such a desperate project, nor would the queen have taken part in it. Like most persons in her situation, she had a great dislike to discussions concerning the succession, which could not but remind her, that, though a crowned monarch, she was as sure to die as the meanest beggar. It became notorious that some expedition in behalf of the Pretender was preparing, and the ministry were forced to issue a proclamation, offering a reward for his apprehension, if he landed. Bolingbroke told the French agents, that he did not think it safe to oppose this, but that it made no difference. The Jacobites were become very distrustful of Harley, and used every effort to push forward Bolingbroke.

An oppressive, persecuting law was now passed, called the Schism Act. Its object was to prevent dissenters from having any concern in education, even in that of their own children. No person was to keep a school, or act as tutor, unless a member of the established church, and authorized by the bishop's license. It was considered a great concession that dissenting schoolmistresses might be allowed to teach young children to read! The Scottish lords supported this, though reminded that what was the established religion in Scotland was called schism in England. This act was to have come into operation on August 1st, but on that day the queen was numbered with the dead. The act never was enforced, and in a few years it was repealed. The parliament rose on July 9th. Harley turned to the whigs for support, but without effect. Swift sought to reconcile his two patrons, but in vain. An altercation between Harley and lady Masham took place in the queen's presence, and he was dismissed on July 27th.

The Jacobites said that they had procured his dismissal ; but the queen expressed much regret at these disputes among her ministers and favourites.

Bolingbroke now had the power in his own hands ; his evil measures seemed to be secured ; he began to carry out his schemes, but there were few whom he could fully trust, or who would openly act with him. On the same day, he saw the leading whigs, endeavoured to make deceptive terms with them, and had an interview with a French agent, assuring him that his sentiments for "the king," were unaltered. But the crisis was at hand.

On July 30th, the queen was seized with an apoplectic fit. She had not recovered the shock from the altercation above-mentioned. A stupor came on ; it was soon known that her last hour rapidly approached. Bolingbroke and his supporters were struck with consternation, a ministry of his friends had been arranged, but they were not officially appointed. The dukes of Argyll and Somerset came to the council, and insisted upon recommending the duke of Shrewsbury to be lord treasurer. What was called an approval was obtained from the dying queen. All the privy councillors near London were summoned, and the partisans of the Pretender were at once overwhelmed and outvoted, before they had any time to act.

Troops were ordered to London ; a fleet was to be prepared ; a message was sent to hasten the arrival of prince George ; other arrangements were made as rapidly as possible, to defeat the designs of the Pretender, and to secure the Protestant succession. July 31st was passed in these arrangements, and on the day following queen Anne departed ; though not hated, yet, to use the language of Scripture, "without being desired." The public funds rose when her illness was known, and fell on a report of her recovery. The hand of God is indeed visible in this rapid succession of important events, which at once

turned to foolishness the deep-laid designs and often-revolved projects of evil men.

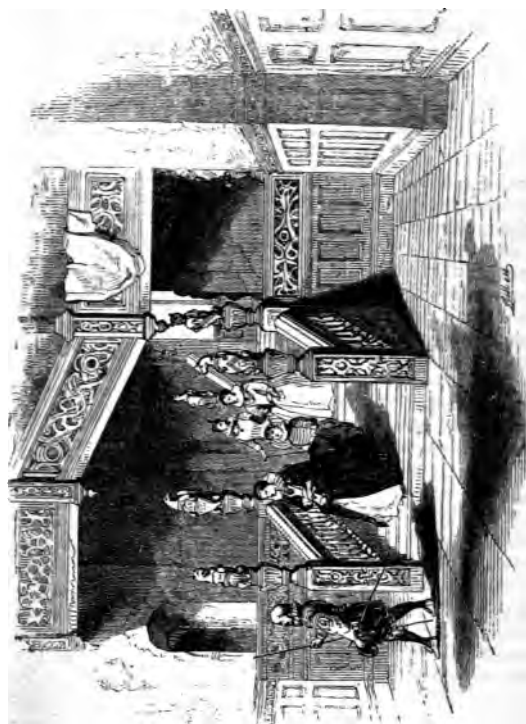
Bolingbroke assured a French emissary, that his measures were so well arranged, that in six weeks' time all they wished would have been secured. But as matters were, that disappointed statesman wrote to Swift:—"The earl of Oxford was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!" But what this atheist called "fortune," was the well regulated completion of a providential design. Britain was saved at a moment of the most imminent danger to real liberty and the Protestant faith. A regency, appointed in 1705, to which eighteen peers named by the Protestant heir to the throne, were added, instantly assumed the government, and George was proclaimed king without opposition. At a private meeting of the partisans of the Pretender, bishop Atterbury advised that they should go forth and proclaim James immediately, urging it with an oath, and offering to head the procession in his episcopal robes; but his more timid compeers shrank from the attempt, nothing was done. "Long live king George," was the general cry, heartily responded to throughout the nation.

The weak, indolent mind of Anne has been so fully exhibited, that little more need be said of her personal character. In private life she would have probably been more estimable and useful than as a sovereign. This imbecility caused her submission to the duchess of Marlborough, which was, as a means, instrumental to the military glories of her reign, while the like infatuated regard, when placed on another female favourite, was overruled to stop the devastations of war, and to bring about a peace; while the similar influence of the duchess of Somerset mainly contributed to prevent the queen from calling her brother to take her place, if not during her life, yet after her decease. The measures of the

revolution of 1688 have left the successors of William more dependent upon their parliaments and ministers, so that the nation has suffered less from the weaknesses, favouritism, or faults of the monarchs than in former periods; the results, shown by the history of England during the eighteenth century, must convince every reflecting mind of the benefits to subjects from a limited monarchy. Even this reign, as Smyth observes, exhibits, in a very strong point of view, a peculiarity which can only occur in a free and mixed form of government; the manner in which the executive power can be restrained by means and machinery, not avowedly provided by the constitution for that purpose.

Much has been said of the glories of queen Anne's reign arising from military successes: these may be allowed to pass without further notice than the narrative has required. Much also has been said of its brilliancy in literary matters. There were writers, it is true, far superior to those of preceding reigns, having less coarseness and profligacy united with their wit, but they are passing into oblivion, being eclipsed by the superior mental powers of later authors. Of the misanthropic ribaldry and political malignancy of Swift, nothing need here be said, and the theological writers of eminence were more or less deficient in their scriptural views. The established church was rapidly settling down into a state of apathy and carelessness; while the heavy hand of persecuting power having been in great measure removed from the dissenters, and the atrocious attacks upon their liberties, as Christians and fellow-subjects, being stayed before they came into operation, they also exhibited a tendency towards torpor and declension. This increased during the next fifty years. Some attempts were made to check profligacy and vice, and to encourage the profession of religion, by the establishment of religious societies for those ends, but the effort went little further than mere formalism; it may!

questioned whether they did not contribute to self-righteousness, while the utmost attempts of Addison and other moralists of the day, were but efforts to cleanse "the outside of the cup and of the platter." Thus a state of spiritual darkness extended over all bodies of professing Christians. The history of this period most decidedly shows, that no religious efforts will be productive of real good, unless they are based upon that thorough change of heart which is set forth in the doctrine of regeneration, or the new birth, through the direct influence of God the Holy Spirit, without any reference whatever to outward forms and ceremonies, as to its origin or continuance. The English reformers taught this, but their successors lost sight of this great truth, and the heart can only be kept in a lively state by intercourse with the Redeemer. Unless that great truth, which is "a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners," is constantly kept in mind, there can be no real godliness—yet the consistent profession of religion, even outwardly, is a national blessing, and produces national benefits. Nations can only be visited or rewarded in the passing events of this world; accordingly, outward profession usually has had national marks of the Divine blessing. But when that profession has been extended to interference with the consciences of others, and is carried onward to persecution for conscience sake, then the Divine displeasure has ever been manifested. Such a desire to interfere with the religious feelings of others has always been the tendency of Popery; and of Popish principles, when adopted or countenanced by those who profess to be Protestants. This important truth is plainly set forth in the past history of England, especially in that portion which relates to the reign of the Stuarts.



BUILDING OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY - STAIRCASE.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS  
OF THE  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

THE manners and customs, and other particulars relative to England in the seventeenth century, furnish ample materials for a work especially thereon, but it is not necessary to say much upon these subjects by way of explanation of a history like the present. England had become a Protestant nation, and the feudal polity had passed away, so that in the most important respects, the present national system, both civil and religious, was beginning to operate, though not fully developed, and having much to struggle against, while the Stuart dynasty remained, striving to maintain the arbitrary system for which it ever contended.

---

BUILDINGS AND FURNITURE.

A large proportion of the buildings of England inhabited during the seventeenth century, of course, were those erected during preceding periods—these have been described already ; but such as were then constructed had still less of the feudal characteristics. Very many of all descriptions remain to the present day ; they are in all essential respects similar to modern houses, generally more spacious, but less compact, and have much room lost in passages and corners. Minute description is unnecessary. The interiors of the houses of the nobility were often grand and imposing. One especial feature was the staircase, no longer, as in the old castles, winding up



in a corner turret, but occupying a prominent position in the mansion—convenient, and giving ready access to the upper floors. The furniture was often richly carved, and has been much prized of late. Some articles are delineated in the engravings of the present volume, and specimens may be seen everywhere. Mahogany was introduced about the end of the seventeenth century, and came rapidly into use.

Glass and earthenware were far from the present state of perfection, pewter was generally preferred: plate was much in use, but the civil war caused immense quantities to disappear in the melting pot, or to be cut into small pieces to circulate in the form of money. Forks came into use at table early in this period. A singular character, named Coriis, claims the honour of having introduced them to general use, from Italy. About the same time an extravagant heiress, in requiring her husband to provide her "lodging chambers with such furniture as is fit," enumerates, "beds, stools, chairs, suitable cushions, carpets, silver warming pans, cupboards of plate, fair hangings, and such like." For her "drawing chambers," she requires, "hangings, couch, canopy, glass, carpets, chairs, cushions, and all things thereto belonging." Towards the end of the century the furniture was still more like that of the present day.

#### THE FINE ARTS.

The fine arts, especially painting and sculpture, were much encouraged. The nobility and gentry wisely preferred pictures and statues to the barbarous ornaments of arms and armour, or the instruments and trophies of the chase. Charles I. encouraged these pursuits; his collections were large and valuable. After his death many curious specimens were sold; among these were the cartoons of Raphael, which had been purchased by him through Rubens. They were secured for the nation by Crom-

well, at the cost of 300*l.*; he also prevented the dispersion of other valuable articles.

Lely and Kneller were distinguished artists of the latter part of the century, especially in portrait painting. Vandyke had been celebrated in this line during the reign of Charles i.

Sir Christopher Wren stands pre-eminent as the English architect of this period; the impulse to building, caused by the restoration, and still more by the great fire in 1666, required a man of consummate ability, and such was Wren. St. Paul's and an infinity of public buildings attest this, although, as in the case of the cathedral, his genius was frequently cramped and fettered. In St. Paul's, especially, he was obliged to give up some beautiful features suitable for the reformed worship, to satisfy James ii., who hoped to restore the popish worship and ceremonies, and would have the building prepared for them.

The art of engraving continued to improve. Mezzotinto is said to have been invented by prince Rupert. Well would it have been had he devoted himself more to the arts of peace. Carving for interiors, as well as for furniture, was much improved by Gibbings and others. Evelyn relates how he discovered that artist at work upon an exquisite piece of art in an humble cottage, and endeavoured to procure royal patronage, which was prevented by the silly remarks of an impertinent Frenchwoman, an attendant on the queen.

Music was less cultivated than in the preceding century. The cathedral services, after the restoration, however, had a good deal of attention. The austerity of manners prevalent during the civil wars, opposed the refinements of musical science; after the restoration, it was perverted to the licentious amusements of the higher ranks. Purcell seems to have been the most distinguished English composer of this period. The formation of the Royal Society in this century must be noticed, as having both directly and

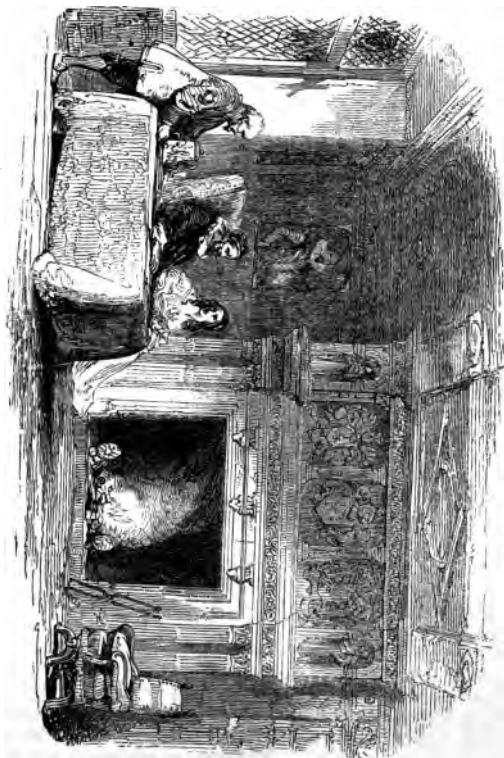
indirectly tended to encourage the cultivation of the arts and sciences.

#### FOOD.

The food of the bulk of the nation was much as it ever has been, solid joints of flesh meats. The higher orders, as usual, sought variety in fanciful dishes: French cookery, in particular, prevailed in all the entertainments of those who considered themselves fashionable. But still there was a mixture of solid fare; we find, in the mention of a high tide invading the kitchens of the palace at Whitehall, that a rump of beef was at a fire roasting for the king's supper, who was to take that meal at the lodging of one of the vile women he patronized, when, of course, the feast would exhibit what was then most approved. Of the elaborate dishes little need be said; those who are deeply skilled in this science at the present day have no occasion to reflect upon their ancestors, though a delicacy in 1685 is described as a dish compounded of salt herrings, almond paste, dates, crumbs of white bread, sugar, sack, rose water and saffron, butter, gooseberries, currants, barberries, and vinegar. These articles are not difficult to procure—the readers may compound them according to their tastes! Snails, frogs, and ambergris assisted to make a variety. A dish at a feast to celebrate the restoration in 1661 shows how conventional is taste; four large roasted pigs, harnessed with sausages to a large bag pudding, smoked "all hot" upon the board, and were much admired!

The usual morning meal was such as is represented in this engraving, which conveys a good idea of an interior of the middle of this century. The breakfast was seldom more than a draught of ale or wine, with a piece of bread, to stay the appetite till the solid repast of dinner, about noon, followed by a slight afternoon collation, and the final repast of an early hot supper.

AN INTERIOR IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.



Salted meat still formed a large part of the diet of the great mass of the people in winter. Vegetables were coming gradually more into use ; bread was often made with rye and coarse grain, oatmeal also was much consumed.

Malt liquor was the general drink ; the distractions of the civil wars, with the gross rejoicings of the courtiers that followed, did much to encourage the drunkenness which was unhappily prevalent in England during the latter part of the century, and in that which followed.

The price of wheat early in the century was from 30s. to 34s. sometimes considerably more ; in 1647, 73s. ; in 1649, 80s. ; it fell to 26s. in 1654, and averaged 45s. before the restoration.

Tea was introduced, but little known, as well as coffee ; it was prepared at houses opened for its sale. Peppys notes in his diary for 1660, "I did send for a cup of tee, a China drink, which I never drunk before." It was made and sold by the cup, recommended for its medicinal properties.

In 1660 a duty of fourpence per gallon on coffee, and eightpence on chocolate, sherbet, and tea, was imposed, to be paid by the maker thereof. It was an excise duty upon the liquor produced, and continued in that form till the revolution. The quantity of tea imported in 1664 was two pounds two ounces. In 1666 the East India Company imported 22 lbs., at a cost of fifty shillings the pound ; 143 lbs. in 1669 ; this increased, and in 1678, was imported the quantity of 4,713 lbs., which made a supply so much beyond the demand, that only 400 lbs. were brought during the next six years.

Vegetables and fruit were brought more into use, also spices and all foreign luxuries were consumed by the middle classes. Sugar was prized, being frequently eaten by itself. Potatoes purchased for the queen's table, early in this century, cost 2s. the pound.

## BOOKS AND PRINTING.

Books rapidly increased, even under the restrictions of the licensers; a large portion of the literature, from the character of the times, was controversial divinity, while very much was vile and profligate, to amuse the evil inclinations then prevalent, but books of this period are too common to need description; many of the productions of the seventeenth century are among the works still most valued and useful. To say nothing of the English version of the Bible, already fully noticed, the names of Leighton, Hall, Baxter, Howe, Owen, and others, remind of books far superior to those of more recent date, while others, from humbler pens, have been still more extensively useful, and are highly prized. The reader will at once think of John Bunyan, who from a wicked profligate, and wretched tinker, after pursuing a career of iniquity, became a special monument of Divine grace, and when sentenced and sent to prison for preaching Christ Jesus, was enabled to write his *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*, which has appeared in more languages, and been more read, than any other book in existence, except the Holy Scriptures.

Of the typography of this period little can be said, on the whole the art of printing retrograded. Libraries, however, increased. Many of the large and useful establishments of this description now existing, were founded during the seventeenth century. Prints of that day exhibit the form in which some still exist, ranges of cases dividing the room, with desks for the large books, secured by chains. Literature was now followed as a profession, and authors were paid for their books; but the remuneration was not the greatest for the best performances. Milton received but ten pounds for his *Paradise Lost*. Dryden cleared sometimes a hundred pounds for a single play; and Southern, contemptible as an

author, in one instance received 700*l*. Dunton has related many particulars of the book-making and bookselling of the later years of this period. Newspapers began to be regularly published during the civil wars.

#### AMUSEMENTS.

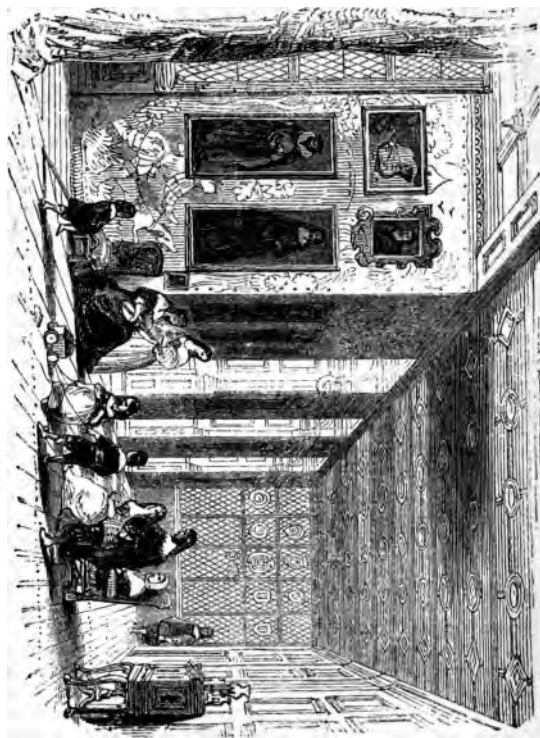
The civil wars, and the painful vicissitudes of the times, interfered a good deal with amusements. The efforts of the court and high-church party to encourage sports and games for desecrating the Lord's day, made many oppose even what they would have approved under proper regulations and at proper seasons. Masques and dancing were favourite amusements early in the century—some of the former exhibitions, by the gentlemen of the inns of court, cost 20,000*l*. and upwards. After the restoration, theatrical amusements made much progress, attended as usual with all that demoralizes, so as necessarily to require the disapproval of all right-minded persons. Much might be said hereon, but it is best to be silent. The abhorrent expressions of Scripture as to "revellings and such like," are especially applicable to such proceedings. Field sports were practised as usual. Horse racing, and other gambling amusements, were patronised by Charles II. and his profligate court. Tennis and bowling were games much practised.

Some of the innocent amusements of children and of a family circle, are seen in this view of a gallery in one of the large houses of that day.

#### TRAVELLING AND INNS.

Travelling was less improved than almost every other matter. Coaches indeed were brought more generally into use; but, as the engravings of this period delineate, they were outwardly clumsy, however roomy and comfortable within. The vehicle of

A FAMILY AND AMUSEMENTS.





the queen-mother, on her journey from Harwich to London, in 1637, as here represented, is of this character, while this view shows how the streets of country towns, with the shops and penthouses, then appeared. Some few acts for repairing highways were passed in this century; the first turnpikes were established on the north road in 1663. Hackney coaches, or vehicles so called, let for hire, were introduced in London about 1625. Ten years afterwards an absurd royal proclamation against them, as disturbing the king and queen, pestering the streets, and raising the price of provender, was issued; they were not to be used or suffered, except to travel distances at least three miles from London. Two years later they were licensed by authority!

Travellers generally made their journeys on horseback, changes of horses being ready at the post-houses, which were established in all large towns. The beginning of a post system for the transmission of letters, about 1635, marks this century, but it was very imperfect; it was to go to Edinburgh in six days, and return with letters, also for towns on or near the main road. Other posts were afterwards established. The government saw that the system was too important a matter to be left to private hands, therefore properly made it a national concern, but very erroneously looked at it principally as a source of revenue: it was farmed for 10,000*l.* in 1652, and produced 65,000*l.* at the close of the century. The main object should have been to promote the public welfare, and the progress of society, by wise arrangements for the general advantage, only laying such a pecuniary burden as should fairly be required to defray expences and promote improvements. But, unhappily, the principal aim was to impose as high a tax upon this means of intercourse as it would bear, and only to make such improvements as were absolutely requisite to render it a profitable impost. Strange to say, this mistaken view prevailed till very recently;



**TRAVELLING IN 1637.**

**From a print of that period, representing the entrance of the Queen-mother into Colchester.**

and even now a few persons show their ignorance by mistaking for a course so completely erroneous such in principle and practice.

The roads continued in a bad condition, passable in summer, but almost impassable in winter; even in the reign of Queen Anne persons, when travelling from remote parts of Somerset to London, made a detour of thirty or forty miles, to secure a road on which vehicles could travel, and coaches were attended by labourers to remove obstacles, or when the vehicle was sinking in a quagmire, to prop it up, or drag it through by main strength. The streets were in a bad state, mostly narrow and winding, the houses in many instances nearly meeting over head, the ground unpaved and deep with mud. The fire of London, in its results, was indeed a blessing to the nation.

#### DRESS.

The dress of this period is represented in the engravings of this volume. The common habits were very much like the plainer dress of the present day, only woollen was more prevalent; the luxury and comfort of a free use of linen and cotton was not fully known. These specimens of the citizen and military of the middle of the century will suffice; they may also be considered as representing the parliamentarian and courtier of that period. Finery was more prevalent in the lace, trimmings, jewellery, and varied hues of garments of rich and fashionable people; the sober citizens, or the decidedly religious, were marked by the graver colours of their garb. Of the modifications of shape and form with the extravagances of fashion, it is useless to speak—what need be said of Mrs. Stewart's beauty, set off, in Pepys' eyes, by her wearing a cocked hat with a red plume, or the ladies of honour with men's coats, wigs, and hats, surmounting their woman's garb below. Charles II. once introduced a modification of the

Persian garb; as the whim of the moment and the will of the monarch, it was followed, but only for a short time. The national dress varied by French fashions was again universally resumed, for the king of France dressed his servants in this Persian cos-



tume! Coats, waistcoats, and breeches, in some form, were the main articles of men's dress, but the wig was universal, sometimes costing from 30*l.* to 50*l.* In the licentious times of the later Stuarts, the art of dressing mainly consisted in undressing; in putting off, rather than in putting on. The dress was more indicative of various classes than it now is, one result was the greater facility given to those who, for various evil motives, personated characters widely differing from their own. Thus the jesuits, seeking to stir up strife and to exasperate the angry feelings existing between the high churchmen and the puritans, assumed the garb of the latter. One wrote in the reign of Charles I., "I cannot but laugh to see

how some of our own coat have accoutred themselves; you would scarce know them if you saw them; and 'tis admirable how in speech and gesture they act the puritan." That such things are done in our own day cannot be doubted; but a distinctive style of dress must take off from scrutinizing examination in other respects, therefore it is to be deprecated. A female toilette of the latter part of this century is represented on page 449; it differed little from one of our own day, but perhaps was more tedious, and more profuse in the use of perfumes; the latter were more required from the habits and customs of the day.

#### STATE AND CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

The whole of the history of the seventeenth century so much turns upon the state and condition of the people, and so fully exemplifies it, that little need be said expressly on this subject. Amidst all the vicissitudes, and the evils alternately arising from the extremes of republicanism on the one hand, and despotism on the other, it is evident that the national character progressed and improved. The middle ranks of society were in a more wholesome state than at preceding or later periods, though the profligacy that prevailed towards the close of the century, described with painful feelings by Evelyn and others, gave rise for gloomy anticipations.

Robbery and wrong were still frequent, and ever will be so, but the general character shows a marked improvement. Though the civil wars for a time left many robbers to unite together in gangs, even acting with a mimic warfare, yet the main features of evil were now decidedly fraud and cozening, the law was more powerful than formerly. To narrate these tricks would be wrong—the annals of trickery of our own day all had their prototypes in the seventeenth century. As already said, the state of society was mainly the same—the difference therefore is not in

A TOILETTE AND FURNITURE.



the principle, or in the general proceedings, but in the details.

The police was defective, consequently order and protection did not exist; night brawls attended with loss of life, even of the guardians of the peace, were fearfully common.

The population of England at the accession of James I. probably was about five millions, and increased to about six millions and a half at the time of the restoration, and to a somewhat larger number at the close of the century.

A mischievous law of settlement was passed early in the reign of Charles II. which rendered the poor labourer almost unavoidably a serf to his native soil, by giving a power to remove a poor man from any other place, where he could not give security that he would not become chargeable. This iniquitous law existed in force till 1795, giving rise to much litigation, and causing far more money to be spent in legal proceedings to enforce it, than all the costs of maintenance incurred without it would have amounted to. The law of settlement has been materially improved by the new poor law, but it still retains some unfair and injurious provisions. The poor rate amounted to more than half a million before the close of the century. Yet under every disadvantage the state of the poor was vastly superior to their condition in the middle ages. Whoever examines this subject will turn with disgust from those who, under pretence of charitable feelings, would bring back that state of servitude and suffering.

#### TRADE AND AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture was beginning to improve, artificial fodder was raised, manufactures increased; but England was not yet become a modern Tyre, though its merchants were beginning to go forth throughout the whole earth.

The internal trade was largely increased; the shops

and warehouses were better filled, though still very rude compared with later luxuries. The shops were open to the street, the master or his apprentices standing in front, plying the passers by with "What d'ye lack?" specifying and praising their goods like the secondhand clothesmen of the present day. Commerce was rapidly growing into importance, but distant foreign transactions were mostly carried on by companies; a good system for nursing infant trade, but a serious burden and drag in a more advanced state of things. These companies are now discontinued; even in the east it is found best to leave trade to individual enterprise. Commerce however progressed, so that the large fortunes of this period almost invariably originated from that source. Nearly all the families ennobled during the last two centuries, except a few personal minions of royalty, have sprung from traders—surely a more honourable origin than the successful robbers and murderers of the middle ages; but with the usual perversion of human intellect, characters who, in these days, would long since have been sent to the gallows, are often deemed more honourable than the industrious, virtuous, and successful citizens like Chetham, who were blessings to all connected with them. Surely the latter are most to be honoured.

The localities of manufactures are thus described in 1677. Clothing in the west of England, extending to Staffordshire. Some iron and woollen in York, Derby, and Nottingham; the woollen manufacture in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex; the linen and cotton manufactures were not known in England. In Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, some cloth and iron; the iron railing round St. Paul's Cathedral set up in the reign of queen Anne, was manufactured in Kent, and cost about 10,000*l.*; but as the woods disappeared, and the use of coal in iron furnaces was introduced, that manufacture removed to the midland



and northern countries. It was already considerable in the Forest of Dean. London was supplied with food by the nearest inland counties. One argument often used in favour of large towns was, that they consumed the superfluous provisions for many miles round ; thus encouraging the agriculture of a district. Vegetables might be sent a few miles, as in one instance, from London to Gravesend ; but then it was as delicacies, not as articles of general food. The idea of sending common cheap food as a regular supply, for two hundred or even for thirty miles, would have been rejected as impracticable.

During this century English colonies were planted in North America. The first proceedings were in 1606, when two companies were chartered. One called the London Adventurers, was authorised to occupy from the 34th to the 41st degrees of north latitude. This was subsequently divided into the provinces of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina. A hundred settlers were sent out that year, who formed a settlement known as James Town, in Virginia. The second company, or Plymouth Adventurers, obtained from the 41st to the 45th degree for their allotment. This includes Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and the New England states. In 1612 the Bermudas were granted to another company. In 1620 and subsequently, the New England states were settled, chiefly as already mentioned, by those driven from this country by the harsh measures against the Puritans, and the infringements of liberty of conscience.

The settlers had many difficulties to encounter ; even Virginia was by no means in a satisfactory state till after the reign of James I., although that monarch so far laid aside his determined hatred of tobacco as to allow it to be grown in that colony, which owed its subsequent prosperity to that commodity.

Charles I. altered the charters granted by his father, declaring that these colonies were a part of his royal empire ; at that time 200,000*l.* had been sunk in

the settlement of Virginia without any return to the adventurers. A portion of this southern district was granted to Lord Baltimore in 1632, who called it Maryland, in compliment to the queen. He was a Romanist, and his colony afforded shelter to those of that faith, driven from England by the penal laws.

In 1641 an English colony was settled at Surinam ; and before that period Barbadoes, and what were called the Carribee Islands, were also occupied. In 1664, the Dutch who had settled at New York were driven from that colony, and before the end of this century the whole line of sea-coast of North America was possessed by the English.

Sir W. Petty, in 1676, gives some statements which strongly show the increased trade and wealth of the country. He remarks that during the preceding forty years the taxes and public burdens had been far more than in any former period, and yet that the wealth and power of Britain was indisputably increased. The number of houses in London was doubled, besides the increase of several large towns. The shipping had increased many times, the customs were trebled, the postage of letters was twenty-fold. All this showed that the results of the disputes between the king and the parliament were widely different from the usual consequences of civil warfare.

Among the commercial measures of this century, one of the most important was the enacting of the Navigation Laws. This act was passed soon after the restoration, being a continuation of a law passed by the parliament in 1651, by which the carrying of all goods imported into England from Asia, Africa, and America, was confined to English ships ; and that of a large proportion of goods from Europe, was limited to English ships, or to vessels of the countries from which the goods came. These laws were intended to affect the Dutch, who at that time had nearly engrossed the carrying trade; they stimulated the shipping interest, and thus were important to the

country : else, like all restrictive laws, they injured the party imposing them, as well as those against whom they were framed. R. Coke, in his treatise on trade, asserted this in 1671. Ultimately they formed one of the grievances which led to the separation of the North American colonies from the mother country.

The East India Company increased by degrees. About 1680 they were engaged in hostilities with the native powers of Bengal. The first record of a ship sent to China was in 1680. During the whole of this century the chief trade with the East Indies was carried on by the Dutch.

At the time of the union with Scotland the trade between the two countries was very small ; the value of goods transferred by land carriage cannot be ascertained, but it was by no means large. By sea the imports into England from Scotland had decreased from 130,000*l.* in 1700, to 50,000*l.* in 1705. The amount imported into Scotland from England was higher than usual in 1704, when it was 87,000*l.*, but it had fallen to 50,035*l.* in 1705.

It should be mentioned that the first practical application of steam power was made by Savery in 1698, to pump water for draining a mine. He first applied the power resulting from a vacuum caused by the condensation of steam, though in a very imperfect way, and with much needless expenditure of fuel and waste of power. Newcomen shortly after made a considerable improvement, and less than a century and a half has brought this to be the great working power of the land.

#### LAWS AND CONSTITUTION.

Here again the reader may best be referred to the general history. It is enough to say, that he will find the points in the English constitution most valued at the present day, all brought forward, more or less, in the seventeenth century. Some were for the

time wholly repressed, others retarded, others carried too far ; but from all this confusion, when stilled and partially settled by the Revolution in 1688, and by the establishment of the Protestant faith with due toleration, all our best arrangements of the present day had their commencement or main progress.

Historians of all views admit that the struggle was between the crown and the people, and that this contest was rendered more fierce by the religious elements mixed with it. The views of the first two monarchs of the Stuart dynasty, and of their leading ecclesiastics, induced them to promote each others views to the extreme. Strafford and Laud here were mutually helpers, but it cannot be doubted that Laud's main endeavour was to render the ecclesiastical power supreme in England ; therefore, besides his efforts to exalt priestly power, he endeavoured to depress the authority of the common law and its administrators. Wherever it was practicable, he introduced professors of the civil law and ecclesiastics into power and place. He enforced, as he thought, conformity, so that the church of England was raised to its highest state and authority about the year 1636. Laud himself was of this opinion. In 1635, when noting the promotion of Juxon, bishop of London, to the secular office of lord treasurer, a thing, as he himself records, unknown since the days of Poper, he adds, " And now, if the church will not hold themselves up, under God, I can do no more." He had done too much, as speedily appeared, and as the preceding pages have shown.

#### EDUCATION, AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Education made considerable advance as to establishments both public and private, while the population did not so rapidly increase as to outrun the provision thus made, in the manner it has done during the present century. It may perhaps be safely said, that at no period of English history was the means of education so nearly proportioned, or the

matter of it so suitable and so advantageous to the people, as during this period. Still it was fearfully incomplete, even at the best period; as now it was by no means adequate to the wants of the nation. What was provided was also the more efficacious, being based on Christian foundations, and in subordination to the revealed will of God. It was not till the latter part of this century that the unscriptural views adopted by too many, with the directly infidel principles then becoming common, interfered with the simple view of instruction, which alone can be regarded as a national blessing, but to which unhappily the religious divisions among us, with the practical disregard of Christian union generally prevalent, are most injuriously opposed. While Judah and Ephraim continue mutually to vex each other, (see Isa. xi. 13,) the enemy of souls knows how to improve these discords for the destruction of souls.

The English language of this period is given in its best form and style, in the translation of the Bible now in use. With a specimen of this, the present brief sketch may be concluded.

Let thy mercies come also unto me, O Lord,  
Even thy salvation, according to thy word.  
So shall I have wherewith to answer him that reproacheth me :  
For I trust in thy word.  
And take not the word of truth utterly out of my mouth ;  
For I have hoped in thy judgments.  
So shall I keep thy law continually  
For ever and ever.  
And I will walk at liberty :  
For I seek thy precepts.  
I will speak of thy testimonies also before kings,  
And will not be ashamed.  
And I will delight myself in thy commandments,  
Which I have loved.  
My hands also will I lift up unto thy commandments, which  
I have loved ;  
And I will meditate in thy statutes.









